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Baylies

AN

HISTORICAL MEMOIR

OF THE COLONY OF

NEW PLYMOUTH.

VOL. I.—PART THE FIRST.

FROM 1620 TO 1641.

BY FRANCIS BAYLIES.

—◆—
BOSTON.

HILLIARD, GRAY, LITTLE, AND WILKINS.

M DCCC XXX.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT:

District Clerk's Office.

It is remembered, that on the sixth day of May, A. D. 1830, in the fiftyfourth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Francis Baylies of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author in the words following, to wit:

' An Historical Memoir of Plymouth Colony. Vol. I.—Part the first.—From 1620 to 1641.—By Francis Baylies.'

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;' and also to an act, entitled 'An act supplementary to an act, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned;" and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.'

JNO. W. DAVIS,
Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

BOSTON CLASSIC PRESS—I. R. BUTTS.



P R E F A C E .

SOME of the towns which were once included within the ancient colony of New Plymouth, contain at the present day a population more numerous than the whole population of that colony at any time during the first twenty years of its existence.—But no small commonwealth, not even a Greek republic, ever afforded to history in so short a period, so many materials alike interesting and instructive.

In the earliest period, the colonists of Plymouth are to be considered rather as a voluntary association of independent individuals, than as subjects of the crown of England receiving protection, and yielding allegiance.

Their history may properly be divided into four periods.

During the first they enacted laws, entered into treaties, made war and peace, and exercised all the powers of sovereignty almost escaping the notice of the English government.—They were alone in a wide wilderness, and they assumed sovereign power from necessity rather than choice :—this period is full of events :—difficulties with the natives ;—domestic factions ;—religious quarrels ;—repeated attempts to obtain a royal charter, and a continued effort to save themselves from the desolations of war, and the sufferings of famine.

At this period trifling incidents assume a character of importance far transcending their intrinsic interest, inasmuch as they serve to indicate that active and energetic spirit, that patient fortitude, that stern yet submissive religion, which taught the pilgrims to endure and to hope, and while they relied on divine protection, not to neglect the 'human means.'

So full of dangers was this period, that it was only by the consummate prudence of Bradford, the matchless valor of Standish, and the incessant enterprise of Winslow, that the colony was saved from destruction.

The submissive piety of Brewster, indeed, produced a moral effect as important in its consequences, as the active virtues of the others.

These were the men who produced a greater revolution in the world than Columbus. He in seeking for India discovered America.—They in pursuit of religious freedom established civil liberty, and meaning only to found a church, gave birth to a nation, and in settling a town commenced an empire.

The colonists after surmounting the earliest difficulties, suppressing the faction of Oldham and Lyford, and quieting the natives by exciting their fears, and winning their affections, undertook, in 1636, to establish a criminal code; to define and limit the power and authority of their rulers, and to ascertain and declare the extent of their own rights and privileges by law.

In 1639, a change was effected in the government which at the time scarcely attracted notice, it being considered as an affair of convenience only; and yet it substituted a representative for an actual democracy, by vesting in the deputies of seven towns the power which had been previously exercised by the whole people:—the extension of the settlements virtually prevented

them from exercising their legislative rights in person, and to distribute legislative power in fair and equal proportions it became necessary to delegate it.

Having, under the patent of 1629, obtained (as they supposed) a title to the soil comprised within their limits, the colonists proceeded as their increasing population required, to occupy vacant lands, and to extinguish the Indian title to others by mutual agreement, and by the payment of an equivalent.

The surrender of the patent (which had been taken in the name of Governor Bradford) to the whole company, and the issuing of the charters to the several towns in the colony in 1640, terminates the first period of this history.

From 1641 to 1675, a period of more than thirtyfour years, the history of the colony (with one exception) presents but few momentous events. During this second period, a profound peace was maintained with the natives. English settlements incorporated as towns were extended in every direction, and the territory was nearly covered by English grants. There were no domestic feuds or ecclesiastical controversies. Sectarians it is true occasionally disturbed the tranquillity of the inhabitants of this little commonwealth ; but persecution with them assumed its mildest form, and their annals have escaped that deep and indelible stain of blood, which pollutes the pages of the early history of their sterner and more intolerant brethren of Massachusetts.— They were somewhat apprehensive of the commissioners who were sent out by King Charles II. to examine the condition of the colonies, and to correct abuses, but in Plymouth there were no complaints, because there were no wrongs. In 1643 a union or confederation was effected between the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, to which at first

Saybrook, then a separate and independent settlement on Connecticut river and which had been granted to Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brook, and Sir Richard Saltonstall, was admitted as a party, but which soon after lost its distinctive political character by a union with Connecticut. The principal objects of this confederation were to secure a harmonious cooperation in religious affairs ;—to adopt means for the surrender of servants, criminals, and fugitives from justice, escaping from one jurisdiction into another : by establishing an alliance offensive and defensive to provide for the common defence in war, for which soldiers were to be raised and money assessed in ascertained proportions, and for the prevention of wars, no colony was to wage one individually or without the consent of six out of the eight commissioners.

The spirit of enterprise which found its first employment in controversies with the natives took another direction, and in the prosecution of commerce found the real source of prosperity and wealth. Frugal and prudent from necessity, and industrious from habit, the colonists continued to advance by sure and certain steps in their career of successful exertion, until the breaking out of that horrible war which bears the name of its author, and which terminates the second and commences the third period of this history.

Romantic indeed is the history of this third period, full of incident, exciting events, and high and heroic action. The war which fills this period of colonial history was a contest for existence.—It was the death struggle between the white and the red races, and the fate not only of Plymouth but of all New England was involved in the issue. Philip, the Tecumseh of his age, was the chief of a confederacy which embraced nearly all the tribes of New England ; but his own residence and that of his native

tribe was within the territorial jurisdiction of Plymouth, and therefore much of the danger and much of the suffering which were occasioned by the war, fell upon that colony.—The whole population were transformed into soldiers.—Every settlement contained garrisoned houses, and the martial spirit was kindled even in the bosoms of the women and children. The success of the English gave to them the disposal of the remaining lands of the Indians. They permitted a few miserable natives to hold some narrow possessions on sufferance, (an evidence of their conquest and debasement,) within that ample domain, once the heritage of their ancestors. Their numbers lessened.—They mingled with the blacks:—their distinctive character was lost, and the only physical evidences which now remain of a ‘previous people,’ are their uncoffined skeletons, which are occasionally exhumed, as though fate had determined to deny even to their bones, a resting place in that soil over which they once had roamed, the proud and solitary lords of the primeval forest.

The dominion of the colony was now firmly established, and the colonists were relieved from all apprehensions of Indian hostility, and the fourth period in their history commences.

During that period they in common with the other colonies of New England, suffered under the oppression of Sir Edmund Andross, and rejoiced in his overthrow. The revolution of 1688, restored them to independence. After the accession of William and Mary to the throne of Great Britain, but little regard was manifested for their peculiar rights, and as a measure of political convenience this colony was annexed to the younger but more powerful sister colony of Massachusetts in 1692, having existed as an independent government for a period of seventyone years.

The people of Plymouth submitted to this arrangement with reluctance, but as the evil was unavoidable, they bore the loss of their independence with equanimity, and deported themselves as loyal subjects of the crown, and as good citizens of the Province, and as the laws, religion, customs, and principles of the Massachusetts' colonists were nearly similar to their own, they soon amalgamated and became one people.

It would be presumptuous perhaps to call this humble work a history: its relations are so minute, and to many may appear so trifling, that the common usage of the world would require that it should assume no higher name than that of memoir, yet a narrative of the earliest settlement of Rome or England as circumstantial, as minute, and as accurate as that which now exists respecting the settlement of New Plymouth, would be prized by scholars and antiquarians as the most precious of all the treasures of history. Events which are obscured by the duskiness of antiquity excite an indescribable, peculiar, romantic, and mysterious interest, and could the very field be now pointed out through which a Roman consul had guided the plough:—could the very spot be ascertained where a Dictator had entered the *eternal city* in all the honors of a lawful triumph:—could the wild, dark haunts of the Druids be opened to the light, or the places identified where the soil of England had been pressed by the feet of Julius Cesar, or of Hengist and Horsa, or of William the Conqueror, the enthusiasm of the age would consecrate such ground, and no divine information would be required to proclaim its holiness.

An attempt to arrange events which now are scattered through various books, although it may at best be considered but an effort at compilation, is entitled as the author apprehends to some

favor.—Time has already begun to throw his shadows over the earlier part of American history, and before the light fades entirely away, the slightest effort to arrest the fall of that dark curtain, which like the funeral pall covers all that have lived, and to present men and things as they actually were without leaving the future historian like the historian of antiquity, to grope his uncertain way by the dim and hazy light of an age fabulous, and heroic, is entitled not only to favor but to indulgence.

Fortunately an account of the earlier proceedings of the Plymouth colonists exists in the relations of Mourt and Edward Winslow: to these relations the annals of Prince are an invaluable appendage as they contain the only portion of the history written by Governor Bradford which terminated in 1646, and which contained a full, accurate, and minute account of all the transactions of the colony to that period.—This history is lost, and no trace of it remains except in these annals, which are only extended to the beginning of August, 1633, although it was the intention of the author to have brought them down to 1730. Both Winslow and Bradford were personally concerned in all the transactions which they related, and as their veracity was unimpeachable, their writings are entitled to unlimited credit.

The work of Secretary Morton called the New England Memorial, contains much valuable information, although it has not the minuteness of detail which characterises the works of the others. It is rather like an official record interspersed with accounts of remarkable events, and special interpositions of Providence. Many interesting facts have been collected from the notes and appendix in the last edition of this work by the Hon. John Davis.

Some interesting matter touching the history of this colony is found in Winthrop's Journal, particularly in the notes to the last Edition by the Hon. James Savage, and in Mather's Magnalia, and Hubbard's history, as well as in the narrative which the latter has written of the Indian wars.

Some valuable information has been gleaned from the collections of the Historical Society of Massachusetts, especially from such as relate to the settlement of the ancient Towns in the Colony, and their ecclesiastical and local history.

A homely narrative of the transactions in which Colonel Church was personally engaged during Philip's war, of which he was the hero, has been consulted.—This narrative was written by a son of Church, from the notes and information of the father, and under his inspection, and was published during his life. It may therefore be relied on for its accuracy.

Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Trumbull's History of Connecticut, and the second volume of Belknap's Biography, have been examined, — particularly the last, in which the author has condensed in a clear, perspicuous and elegant manner, almost all the earlier history of the Colony from Mourt, Winslow, Prince and Morton.

Much information as to the laws has been gained from the ancient manuscript records.

With a view to the history of Philip's war, three very scarce tracts which were all published in London, in 1675 and 1676, and which were once in the library of Sir Walter Scott, and were by him presented to an American gentleman, have been examined. The first is entitled 'The Present State of New England with respect to the Indian War.—Wherein is an account of the true reason thereof, (as far as can be judged by men.)

Together with the most remarkable passages that have happened from the 20th of June, till the 10th of November, 1675. Faithfully composed by a merchant of Boston, and communicated to his friend in London.' *

This work is full of errors, and it cannot be trusted except where the Author was an eye-witness to what he relates. Sauaman is said to have been sent by the Governor of Plymouth to convert Philip to Christianity, and that for this he was seized and sent to Plymouth by Philip, and while on his way there exhorted his guard to receive the gospel, which so much incensed them that they put him to death, and that it was not until two or three months after his death that his body was taken from its grave! Massasoiet is called the grandfather of Philip! In this history is contained the account of the exploits of Cornellis the Dutch pirate, which Hutchinson has quoted.

'The second tract is entitled "A new and further Narrative of the State of New-England being a continued Account of the Bloody Indian War from March till August, 1676. Giving a perfect relation of the several devastations, engagements, and transactions there; as also the great successes, lately obtained against the Barbarous Indians, the reducing of King Philip, and the killing of one of the Queens, &c, together with a Catalogue of the losses in the whole, sustained on either side, since the said War began as near as can be collected.' †

This account is far more correct than the first. It generally coincides with the other histories, and some facts not mentioned in

* Printed for Dorman Newman, at the King's Arms in Poultry, and at the Ship and anchor, at the Bridge-foot, on Southwark side 1675.

† London printed by F. B. for Dorman Newman, at the King's Arms in the Poultry, 1676.

those are disclosed which bear strong marks of authenticity. It was written July 22, 1676, and appears to have been preceded by two other letters.

The third is entitled 'A true Account, of the most considerable Occurrences that have hapned in the Warre between the English and Indians in New-England, from the fifth of May, 1676 ; to the fourth of August last ; as also the successes, it hath pleased God to give the English against them. as it hath been communicated by letters to a friend in London. The most exact account yet printed.*'

This short account, although it was written before the war had terminated, and when there were many crude reports in circulation, is very accurate, and agrees in most respects with the subsequent histories.

All these tracts appear to have been written in the form of letters by residents in Boston to their friends in London.

From these sources this Memoir has been compiled, its merit is not in its novelty, as nothing now can be gleaned from tradition. It is a collection of historical facts which are scattered through many works, and is the first attempt to embody a connected history of the most ancient colony in New-England.

* London, printed for Benjamin Billingsley, at the Printing Press in Cornhill, 1676.

HISTORICAL MEMOIR
OF
PLYMOUTH COLONY.

CHAPTER I.

Quarrel between King Henry VIII. and the Pope.—Protestant Schism.—Edward VI. Favors the Protestants.—Persecution of the Protestants in the Reign of Queen Mary.—Persecution of the Puritans in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.—Robert Brown, Richard Clifton, and John Robinson, gather a Congregation amongst the People of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Yorkshire.

WHEN Henry VIII. threw off the yoke of the Roman Church, he retained many of its tenets. Although the principles of Wickliffe, the earliest of the English reformers, had made some progress in some of the preceding reigns, yet at the commencement of his, the Protestants, were not known as a sect. The passions of the monarch produced a more thorough revolution in England, than was effected on the continent by the zeal and learning of the early reformers, instructed and animated as they were by the gigantic intellects and matchless courage of Luther and of Calvin. Frustrated in a favorite project in which his heart was concerned, the rage of the monarch was in-

flamed to an implacable degree against the Pope. Resolute, fearless, and revengeful, none but one like him could have overthrown that mighty fabric of ecclesiastical power, which was engrafted on all the national institutions of Europe, and which it had been the work of centuries to rear. By declaring himself the supreme head of the Church of England, he discovered a disposition reckless of consequences and daring to the verge of desperation. This revolution was not caused by any dislike which the king entertained to the creed, or the ceremonies of the Church of Rome, for in early life he was attached to its doctrines with all the zeal and fondness of an enthusiast, and the title of 'Defender of the Faith' first bestowed on Henry by Leo X. for his zeal and orthodoxy in combating the doctrines of the heretic Luther, still distinguishes the protestant kings of England. Many of the ceremonies of the papal church were preserved, and most of its articles of faith, and the reformed church of England still maintained in its form of worship a degree of splendor far surpassing that of the simple and intellectual worship of the followers of Calvin. The hierarchy was retained, the people still continued to reverence the arch-bishops, the bishops, and the other grades of prelates of the new establishment; but the Catholic religion had received a mortal blow,—the protestant church acknowledged no earthly head but the King, and the dominion which the Popes had maintained over the feelings, opinions, and passions of the people, so powerful at times as to overcome their principles of loyalty, and their oaths of allegiance to their own sovereigns, was completely subverted. The avarice of the King completed the work which his anger commenced; the suppression of the monastic establishments established his power on a firmer basis, and their spoils enriched his treasury: the law permitting the

clergy to marry, and the general diffusion of the holy scriptures amongst the people completely destroyed the connexion, political and ecclesiastical, between the kingdom of England and the church of Rome; and while the monarch defied, the people learned to despise the anger of the Pope.

In the reign of Edward VI, the son and successor of Henry, the articles of faith were conformed more to the doctrines of Calvin, but the church retained its magnificent form of worship: the higher dignitaries of the establishment represented their order in the aristocratic branch of the national councils and mingled on equal terms with the peers of the realm, although Hooper, a man of great eloquence and learning, even in that reign, had resolved to refuse a bishopric rather than suffer himself to be clothed in an episcopal habit.

The bigotted Mary drove into exile many of the ablest and most learned protestants, and the sufferings of their brethren who remained, and maintained their faith at the stake, and obtained the crown of martyrdom in the flames, excited all the sympathy of the protestants on the continent. The exiles were received with hospitality and affection by the Calvinistic churches of Frankfort, Geneva, Basil and Strasburgh. A church was gathered at Geneva, by the famous William Whittingham, who fled from the persecution of Mary, and abandoned a great estate in England,—which, in its discipline, government, and form of worship, is said to have varied but little from that of the congregational churches of the present day. Suffering under the persecutions of the Catholics and their bloody Queen, the exiles imbibed an unconquerable dislike to all the modes of worship which had the slightest resemblance to that of Rome. After the death

of Mary and the accession of Queen Elizabeth, they returned home inflamed with 'a sense of their wrongs, and disgusted with the ceremonies of the English church, reestablished as it was on a protestant foundation, because they thought, those ceremonies savored too much of the superstition, and mummery, and idolatry of Rome — ardently attached to the more simple mode of worship which they had seen, and practised abroad, and cherishing the deepest veneration for the doctrines of the people with whom they had dwelt during their exile. The love of equality, a feeling natural to the human mind, was gratified with the idea that as in the kingdom of Heaven there was no respect for persons, and as the disciples and primitive Christians acknowledged no earthly rank, and only adored the God of the Heavens and the Earth, and revered their master and mediator, as his son, so on earth there should be no ecclesiastical rank, and men should be esteemed only in proportion to their spiritual gifts and attainments. Elizabeth was obliged at the commencement of her reign to humor these notions. A large proportion of her subjects still adhered to the Catholic doctrines, and she was threatened from abroad with the hostility of the Pope, and of all the Catholic Princes of Europe, and many of her ablest and most faithful servants had embraced the doctrines of the exiles ; but the Queen (having established herself firmly on the throne, and having overawed all her foreign enemies, and being respected as the head of the protestants throughout Europe,) felt secure from all danger of rebellion :—fond of magnificence, and having the power under the laws of the realm, severely to punish non-conformists, arbitrary in her principles, and stubborn in her opinions, she soon resorted to her legal powers to punish those who dared to think for themselves on the subject of religion, and the *Puritans*, a name

which this class of people had received from their pretensions to superior piety in religion and purity of conduct, were persecuted for what was termed error in opinion,—the clergy of this sect were deprived of their benefices, fined and imprisoned, and some were even put to death. Although the avowal of their opinions hazarded their safety, yet persecution inflamed their zeal, and strengthened their inflexibility; they studied the scriptures day and night, and they imagined that their opinions respecting church government, were supported by the authority of inspiration and by the mandates of the divine Author of their religion. They discovered no external marks of splendor in the primitive christian churches; the gospel was taught from the mouths of the poor, and the lowly. But the christian religion as felt and practised in the days of Queen Elizabeth, shed none of its mild, peaceful, and charitable influences upon the hearts of men;—sectarian zeal smothered the zeal for gospel truth, and religion was only another name for party.—The Puritans possessed as little toleration as their persecutors, and felt no pity for the Arian, or the Anabaptist, when writhing in the flames for imputed heresy. Almost every religious sect has had its martyrs, and its miracles, its infallible creed, its persecutions, and its catalogue of damnable heresies, and like the fabled sphynx has ever been ready to destroy those who could not explain the riddles, into which, they had transformed the plain truths of the gospel. Elizabeth a princess of uncommon sagacity, seemed to have lost it all on the subject of religion;—hating the Catholics on one hand, and despising the Puritans on the other, she would herself set up the standard of orthodoxy, to which she had determined that all should conform. At her instigation, the two houses of Parliament, obsequious to her will, consented to an act ‘by which every person who should absent him-

self from *church* during a month was subjected to fine and imprisonment; and if after conviction, he did not within three months renounce his erroneous opinions, and conform to the laws, he was obliged to abjure the realm — but if he either refused to comply with this condition, or returned from banishment, he should be put to death as a felon, without the benefit of clergy.’ This tyrannical and persecuting law was followed by the usual consequences of such laws.

All who had favored the Puritans were then induced to believe, that if in their distresses they deserted them it would be at the expense of honor, and at the risk of infamy.

From an apprehension that their principles might be abandoned through fear, their consciences became sensitive. Deliberate opinions grew out of doubtful predilections, — and wavering inclinations. Those opinions soon became fixed and ruling principles, influencing all their conduct, absorbing all their attachments, and exciting all their enthusiasm. The moral man was changed, and he existed but for one purpose.

To understand the principles and motives of human action, it would be well to revert to the origin and progress of the christian religion. After the Almighty had ceased to manifest his power by miracles, and his will by inspiration, — after giving to man a basis for his faith, in the birth, acts, sufferings, death and resurrection of his son, and the miracles of the apostles, he withdrew his visible glory from the earth, and left the remainder of his designs to the operation of human reason and of natural causes. The primitive Christians opened the prospect of a paradise on earth, but when their successors had won their way to temporal power, and had grasped with eager hands the pillars of the throne, the frailties of humanity

mingled with devotion, and the articles of faith were imposed by the sword. When the barbarians who subjected the Roman Empire knelt at the altar, and embraced the cross, their rude minds unable to realize the pure doctrines of him 'whose kingdom was not of this world,' and yet reverencing those who had diverted them from the senseless worship of a sabre, or the bloody worship of Woden, and had led them to the fountains of immortal life, in the warmth of gratitude and devotion, invested these spiritual teachers with temporal power, and the bishops became princes;—hence politics were blended with religion, hence the union of church and state. The intrigues of the statesman suspended the devotion of the warrior, and the votaries of the gospel, instead of seeking the kingdom of heaven, sought kingdoms on earth. The study of the scriptures was neglected for the study of politics, the clerical character was slighted—priests became statesmen and courtiers and candidates for civil distinctions, and cardinals often guided the councils of the Italian states, of Spain, France, Scotland, and England. The Popes pursued their career of ambition and aggrandizement with all the zeal and energy of temporal monarchs, and succeeded in establishing a despotism over the mind, more thorough than that which was established by their republican and imperial predecessors over the liberties of mankind. The prelates of the reformed religion enjoyed some portion of the consideration, respect, and power, which had attended their predecessors, but they were unable to stay the spirit of reformation in its progress.—When the human mind is released from the restraint of ancient and long settled opinions, and its accustomed habits of obedience, it is apt to run riot with numberless vagaries and fantasies—with new and crude notions. In the breaking up of the great deep, many novel and

strange appearances are presented, and in the feverish excitement of the time, whatever floats on the surface, whether worthless or valuable, is grasped with eager hands. So various are the lights in which the subject of religion is viewed by different persons, so various are the modes by which the mind is brought to its conclusions, and so many arguments may be drawn from the holy writings to favor the pretensions of different sects, that it is not a matter of wonder that the christian world has been divided into numberless parties, each maintaining with all the zeal of conviction the truth of the system embraced by themselves. Men of rank, and of wealth, fearful that the introduction of new opinions will disturb the tranquillity of society, always resist innovations, and always sustain the established institutions both in church and state : hence it is, that novel notions either in religion or politics generally germinate in the humbler ranks of society, and the energy and perseverance with which they are pursued, are in the ratio of the zeal with which they are embraced.

Amongst the most zealous of the Puritans was a preacher of the name of Robert Brown, a man of bold and ready eloquence, and of showy and popular talents ; he was the first who taught the people the perfect equality of all those who joined the church of Christ, and he refused to acknowledge any authority in church government,—maintaining the new and daring doctrine, that his church was amenable to none, and that any one might be consecrated and set apart for the priesthood by the election of the brethren without any sanction from an archbishop, bishop, or synod, or any authority whatever out of the church itself, and that no form was necessary for the consecration of a pastor but the imposition of hands. Although this daring innovator afterwards abandoned his principles, conformed to the established religion, and re-

ceived a benefice, yet his early opinions favoring the popular notions of equality in church government, took deep root amongst the humbler descriptions of the people, many of whom, living on the confines of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Yorkshire, were gathered into a congregation by the influence and preaching of Richard Clifton and John Robinson, about the year 1602 : they entered into a solemn covenant, devoting themselves to the service of God, and to the aid and comfort of each other, and endeavored to conform to the practice and the doctrines of the primitive church of Christ ; they were more rigid in their practice than the other Puritans, and totally separated themselves from the established church ; they were popularly known at first by the name of BROWNISTS, a name derived from their founder, but which they always disclaimed as a distinctive appellation.

CHAPTER II.

Persecution of the Puritans in the Reign of James I.—Clifton and Robinson's Congregation escape into Holland.—Are established at Leyden.—Doctrines maintained by Robinson's church.

WHEN James I. came to the throne of England, Bancroft was the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury; the king was influenced by his counsels, and the Puritans experienced all the terrors of persecution; some were imprisoned, and all were harrassed by oppressive laws; many were compelled to abandon their occupations, and to confine themselves to their houses.

Wearied at last with these continual persecutions, Robinson's church determined to abandon their country, and to seek some other in which they might enjoy their worship, and their opinions unmolested. After some abortive attempts to leave England, in which they were detected, and for which they suffered severely, they succeeded in the spring of 1608 in hiring a Dutch vessel to transport them to Holland:—the sagacity of the rulers of this commercial Republic had made them sensible of the advantages of universal toleration, at a time when that policy was rejected by the whole christian world.

A part of Robinson's society having embarked, the captain of the ship was intimidated by the appearance of an armed force on the coast, and put to sea without waiting for the remainder, and after a voyage of fourteen days

arrived at Amsterdam. The wives and families of those who had embarked, soon joined them, and the remainder of Robinson's church went over in the summer of 1608. They were joined in the same year by their venerated pastor. The aged Clifton died previous to their embarkation.

A congregation of English puritans under the care of John Smith, had been gathered at Amsterdam previous to the arrival of Robinson, but some dissensions happening amongst them the church was dissolved. Robinson, fearful of the effects which might follow from such an example, persuaded his church to remove to Leyden, which they did after remaining a year at Amsterdam.

At Leyden they lived harmoniously amongst themselves, and were greatly respected by the Dutch for their diligence, fidelity, and good morals; the magistrates having occasion to reprehend some of the French Protestants who also resided in their city, made this public declaration, 'these English have lived amongst us ten years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation against any of them.' Their numbers were increased, and at the end of eleven years the church had three hundred communicants.

Robinson was a learned and pious man, well versed in theology, and a subtle disputant. He had adopted the creed of Calvin, and a dispute having arisen between the two professors of theology in the university, one being a disciple of Calvin and the other of Arminius, the people entered zealously into the dispute, and the aid of Robinson was sought by the Calvinists, and according to the account of Bradford, who was present, (but a partial witness however,) completely foiled Episcopius the Arminian professor. He relaxed however from his rigid principles of separation, and allowed the pious members of the Church of England, and of the reformed churches gene-

rally, to communicate with his, making this public declaration, that he separated from no particular church, but from the corruption of all churches. The particular sentiments as to ecclesiastical government which were held by the church over which Robinson was pastor, and which had a peculiar influence upon the conduct and character of the settlers of Plymouth, have been comprised under the following heads.*

(1) 'That no church ought to consist of more members than can conveniently meet together for worship and discipline.'

(2) 'That every church of Christ is to consist only of such as appear to believe in and obey him.'

(3) 'That any competent member of such, have a right, when conscience obliges them, to form themselves into a distinct church.'

(4) 'That this incorporation is by some contract or covenant, express or implied.'

(5) 'That being thus incorporated, they have a right to choose their own officers.'

(6) 'That these officers are *Pastors*, or teaching Elders, *Ruling Elders*, and *Deacons*.

(7) 'That Elders being chosen and ordained, have no power to rule the church but by consent of the brethren.'

(8) 'That all elders and all churches are equal in respect of powers and privileges.'

(9) 'With respect to ordinances, they held that *baptism* is to be administered to visible believers, and their infant children; but they admitted only the children of communicants to baptism. That the Lord's supper is to be received sitting at the table, (whilst they were in Holland they received it every Lord's day.) That ecclesiastical

* Dr Belknap's Life of John Robinson.

censures where wholly spiritual, and not to be accompanied with temporal penalties.'

(10) 'They admitted no holy days but the Christain sabbath, though they had occasionally days of fasting and thanksgiving; and finally, they renounced all right of human invention, or imposition in religious matters.'

CHAPTER III.

Robinson's Congregation resolve to Emigrate to America.—Negotiations with the Virginia Company.—Robinson's Sermons to those who had resolved to go.—Pastoral Letter.—Part of the Congregation embark for England, and afterwards for America.—Their Voyage across the Atlantic.—Treachery of the Captain.—They reach Cape Cod Harbor.—Subscribe a Governmental Compact.

ROBINSON and his church, after a residence of eleven years at Leyden, came to a determination to emigrate to America. The reasons which induced them to adopt this bold design, were such as reflect much honor upon their moral and patriotic character. The loose habits of the commercial people with whom they sojourned, and their careless observance of the sabbath, produced in the minds of these austere and pious people an apprehension that their children might be contaminated by the effects of evil intercourse, and might be drawn by the prospect of commercial advantages or by the allurements of pleasure (which a great city so abundantly affords) from their habits of religious simplicity, and from the contemplation of those subjects to which they had devoted all their affections, and on which they considered their eternal welfare to depend. Although England had driven them from her bosom, yet their long absence had not destroyed that devoted attachment which they cherished in their hearts to the land which gave them birth: they could not endure the reflection that their children would lose their national

character and the language of their fathers. They wished to live under the dominion of their native sovereign, in any part of his empire in which they could enjoy their religious faith unmolested, and they cherished a lively hope that they should be able to rear the true church of Christ in the American wilderness, and still form a part of the English nation.

Some other considerations strengthened their resolution to abandon Holland, amongst which were the extreme difficulty of subsisting themselves ; many who came over from England with fair fortunes, after exhausting them, were either compelled to return, or to live meanly there ; they considered the climate as unfavorable to health, and having been educated to husbandry, they could not readily accommodate their habits to those of the mechanical and commercial people of Leyden, and many fell into premature old age from excessive labor. Influenced by all these considerations, they persisted in their determination to emigrate, but hesitated some time as to the place.

The Dutch made them advantageous offers if they would settle in some of their foreign plantations, but so invincible was their attachment to England that their offers were rejected. Some were for settling in Guiana. After several days of fasting and humiliation, in which they humbly sought the Lord to throw light on their paths, it was resolved to emigrate to that part of America which was then known by the name of Virginia, and which, at that time, included all that part of North America which was claimed by the English. Although they entertained many apprehensions respecting this course, yet, they seemed to have but a choice of difficulties. In addition to the moral reasons for removing to that part of America, they were under some apprehensions that the war between the Spaniards and the Dutch might be renewed, as the truce which had

existed between those nations for nearly twenty years was about expiring, and if the Spaniards were successful, their situation would be deplorable. This consideration induced them to take the chance of living in a country which might be considered as under the jurisdiction of the throne of England, and reconciled them to the prospect of their toils in subduing a wilderness, and of encountering the difficulties and dangers of savage warfare.

Induced by these considerations, they appointed John Carver and Robert Cushman their agents to go to England for the purpose of making an application to the Virginia company, and also to ascertain whether King James was disposed to tolerate them in the practice of their religion, in the uninhabited wilderness which they proposed to occupy.

The agents proceeded to England with letters from the congregation to Sir Edwyn Sandys and Sir John Worstenholme, two principal members of the Virginia Company.

In simple and touching language they described their feelings and the reasons which induced them to emigrate. 'Weaned from the delicate milk of their own country, and so inured to the difficulties of a strange land, that no small things would discourage them, or make them wish to return home, they had acquired habits of frugality, industry, and self-denial; and were united in a solemn covenant, by which they were bound to seek the welfare of the whole company, and of every individual person.' The letters also contained an exposition of their religious creed: they represented themselves as agreeing with the French reformed churches in faith and in discipline, and differing only in some incidental points.

The Virginia company received their application favorably, the letter was not submitted to the king and council, but Sir Robert Norton, the Secretary of State, was in-

duced to use his influence with archbishop Abbot, who had succeeded Bancroft, and who was a prelate of mild disposition and tolerating principles, and by his kind offices the king was with some difficulty induced to say that he would connive at their worship, but denied any official toleration.

The agents obtained nothing but verbal promises, and returned without any written grant, or charter of rights; but upon the whole, the Leyden congregation were satisfied. Trusting to hope, and sustained by religion, they came to a final determination to emigrate. They could not, however, transport themselves to America without assistance, and for this purpose they were induced to apply to the merchant adventurers composing the Virginia company, but before they could settle terms with them, in consequence of the dissensions which prevailed in the company, and their desire to obtain the most favorable they were delayed for more than two years.

The Virginia company, in their connection with Robinson's congregation, regarded only the commercial profits which they expected to derive from their settlement in America, and felt none of that holy zeal which impelled this pious people to abandon the luxuries and the comforts of civilized society, and to seek the wilderness. This company had obtained a monopoly of the trade under certain restrictions for a certain period. But they had never acquired any title to the soil. The whole, excepting a small part of Virginia, and a small Dutch settlement on the North River, was in the possession of the Aborigines. It was said, however, that a patent was taken^x for the use of Robinson's congregation, at the instance of the agents in the name of Jacob Wincob, a religious man of the

^x So says Gov. Bradford distinctly, quoted in Prince page 155. The story rests on a clear narration, & not on tradition. Compare Hubbard's N.S. p. 47.

family of the Countess of Lincoln, but this story rests on tradition ; at any rate, the patent was never used.*

In order to ascertain the precise terms to which the Virginia company were willing to accede, the Leyden congregation sent their agents once more to England. After considerable negotiation, they were induced to conclude an agreement with the Merchant Adventurers on the following hard terms, viz :

1st. That every person who went, being sixteen years old and upwards, should be rated at £10, and that £10 be accounted a single share.

2d. That every one who went and furnished himself with £10, either in money or provisions, should be estimated at £20 in stock, and in the division of profits should receive a double share.

3. That the partnership between the planters and adventurers should continue seven years 'except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole company to agree otherwise,' and that 'all the profits and benefits obtained during the time by trade, traffic, trusting, working, fishing, or any other means of any other person or persons remain still in the common stock till the division.'

4. That they should upon their arrival choose a number of fit persons to furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea, employing the rest in their several faculties upon the land, as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the colony.

5. That at the end of the seven years, the capital and the profits, viz : the houses, lands, goods and chattels be equally divided amongst the adventurers — if any debt or detriment concerning this adventure.

* Hubbard.

6. Whoever should come to the colony afterwards, or put anything into the stock, should at the end of seven years, share proportionably to his time.

7. Any one carrying his wife, children or servants, should be allowed for every person of the age of sixteen or more, a single share in the division; if he provided them with necessaries, a double share, or if they were between ten and sixteen, two of them to be reckoned for a person both in transportation and division.

8. That the children under ten years of age then going, should have no other share in the division than fifty acres of unmanured lands.

9. That the executors of such persons as should die previously to the expiration of seven years, should take shares in the division proportionably to the duration of the lives of the testators.

10. That all persons belonging to the colony were to have meat, drink and apparel, and all provisions out of the common stock and goods of said colony.

The agents insisted that at the end of seven years, the houses and lands, especially gardens and fields, should remain undivided, and should then be held by the planters only, and that the planters should have two days in each week to devote to their own purposes; but Cushman, the principal agent, finding that it would be impossible to prevail on the company to accede to these terms, and fearing that the plan might miscarry, consented to their exactions, which he was the more inclined to do, inasmuch as all who intended to remove had sold their estates and put the proceeds into a common fund.

Amongst this pious people no secular concerns could be transacted without the aid of prayer, so entirely were their minds devoted to religious contemplation and exercises that no prospect of temporal advantages could influ-

ence their feelings or allure their inclinations ;— whenever they met for the purposes of business, the aid of the Lord was invoked with a sincerity correspondent to their zeal.

In the early part of the year 1620, Robinson delivered a discourse, the object of which was, to strengthen and confirm the resolution of those who were about to go to America. They had ascertained that a majority of the congregation were inclined to emigrate, but all who had come to that determination could not immediately prepare themselves for the voyage, those who remained (being the majority,) required of Robinson that he should stay with them, and proposed that Brewster the ruling elder, should go with the minority, and such was the final arrangement ; the minority were ‘ to be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those that should stay ; with this proviso, that, as any should go over or return, they should be reputed as members, without further dismissal or testimonial :’—the others intended to follow as soon as circumstances would permit.

In July they kept another solemn day of prayer and Robinson again preached to them ; the exhortation in this celebrated sermon ‘ breathed a noble spirit of christian liberty,’ and discovered a spirit of liberality the more wonderful as the age was an age of bigotry, and proceeding as it did from one who at one period of his ministry had been distinguished as a rigid and unyielding *Separatist*. ‘ Brethren,’ said he, ‘ we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your face on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows ; but whether the Lord hath appointed that or not, I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal anything to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as ever you

were to receive any truth by my ministry ; for I am verily persuaded — I am very confident, that the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The *Lutherans* cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw : whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the *Calvinists* you see stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

‘ This is a misery much to be lamented ; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they *penetrated* not into the whole counsel of God ; but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace farther light, as that which they first received. I beseech you, remember it is an article of your church covenant, “ that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God.” Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must here withal exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it, for it is not possible that the christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.’

‘ I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of Brownist. It is a mere nick-name, and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it odious to the christian world.’

The preacher in his selection of a text to this sermon, was peculiarly happy. It was from Ezra, chap. viii, verse 21, ‘ I proclaimed a fast there at the river Ahava, that we

might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.' So perfectly acquainted were the Puritans with the holy writings, that occasions could seldom arise when they could not find passages singularly and strikingly adapted to their circumstances.

Robinson also addressed a pastoral letter to them, in which he advised them in relation to spiritual matters, and exhorted them to the practice of charity and the bearing of each others infirmities, he told them that 'their intended course of civil community would minister continual occasion of offence, and would be as fuel for that fire, except they diligently quenched it with brotherly forbearance; and if taking offence causelessly or easily at men's doings, be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himself? which yet we certainly do, so oft as we do murmur at his providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions wherewith he is pleased to visit us. Store up therefore patience against the evil day; without which we take offence at the Lord himself in his holy and just works. A fourth thing there is carefully to be provided for; namely, that with your common employment, you join common affections truly bent upon the general good, avoiding as a deadly plague of your both common and special comforts, all retiredness of mind for proper advantage; and all singularly affected every manner or way, let every man repress in himself and the whole body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, *all private respects of men's selves*, not sorting with the general convenience. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence, before it be well settled, and the parts firmly knit; so be you, I beseech you brethren, much more careful that the house of God (which

you are, and are to be,) be not shaken with unnecessary novelties, or other oppositions to the first settling thereof; lastly, whereas you are to become a body politic, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with special eminency above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government; let your wisdom and godliness appear not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love, and will promote the common good; but also in yielding unto them all due honor and obedience in their lawful administration, not beholding in them the ordinaryness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good; not being like the foolish multitude, who more honor the gay coat, than either the virtuous mind of the man, or the glorious ordinance of the Lord: but you know better things, *and that the image of the Lord's power and authority which the magistrate beareth is honorable, in how mean persons soever*; and this duty [you may the more willingly, and ought the more conscientiously to perform, because you are (at least for the present,) to have them for your ordinary governors, which yourselves shall make choice of for that work. Sundry other things of importance, I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned in more words; but I will not so far wrong your goodly minds, as to think you heedless of these things, there being also divers amongst you so well able both to admonish themselves and others of what concerneth them.]

On the 21st of July, the emigrants quitted Leyden to embark at Delfthaven. They were accompanied by many of their friends, and by some who came from Amsterdam. The next day they embarked for England in a vessel called the Speedwell:—At the moment of their going on board, Robinson who had accompanied them 'fell on his knees,' and with tearful eyes 'in a most ardent and affectionate

prayer, committed them to their divine Protector.* So great was the grief of this little church, all the members of which had been endeared to each other from so many circumstances, and united by so many ties, that when they finally separated, the agonising expression of it drew tears even from the Dutch, who had assembled on the quay to see them depart, insensible as they usually were to sorrowful emotion.

The Speedwell arrived safely at South Hampton. Another vessel of one hundred and eighty tons called the May Flower was chartered in London, by Cushman, and Carver went to superintend her equipment.

Thomas Weston a merchant of London, who had adventured deeply in this enterprise, went to South Hampton to see that they were dispatched; after the arrival of the Speedwell both vessels were provisioned and fitted for the voyage, and a trading stock of £1700 was put on board. It was intended that the Speedwell should remain with the colonists, and that the May Flower after landing her passengers in America should return to England.

On the 5th of August 1620, both ships with one hundred and twenty passengers sailed from South Hampton for America. The company were distributed between the ships and a governor and two or three assistants chosen fore ach, to attend to the distribution of

* Mr Robinson never reached America, the means of his congregation had been exhausted, in the transportation of that part of his church which had already left him, he remained at Leyden until the 22d of February 1625, when he was seized with a complaint which terminated his excellent life on the 1st of March succeeding, in the fiftieth year of his age. His widow and children after his death removed to the Plymouth colony, where his posterity remain and are numerous at this day. The Church over which he presided and which his talents contributed so much to illustrate, was dissolved, the members were dispersed, some remaining in Holland, and some going to America.

the provisions, and to all things respecting the welfare of the company. Reynolds, the master of the Speedwell, before they left the British Channel found his vessel too leaky to proceed. Both ships put into Dartmouth, and the Speedwell was overhauled, and repaired, and was supposed to have been made sea-worthy. They sailed again on the 21st of August. The Speedwell soon began to leak again, and when they had sailed about an hundred leagues, the master declared that with constant pumping he was scarcely able to keep her from sinking, and the ships put into Plymouth; on searching, no defect appearing, the leakiness of the Speedwell was attributed to general weakness, and she was judged unseaworthy. It was supposed that the bad condition of that vessel was exaggerated by the master to relieve himself from an engagement which he was anxious to avoid.

About twenty of the passengers were discouraged and would not reimbark. The remainder being one hundred and one, went on board the May Flower, and the provisions of the Speedwell being shifted to the May Flower, she sailed on the 6th of September, and the Pilgrims bade an everlasting farewell to England!

Little did these adventurers and humble wanderers think when they at last commenced this memorable voyage, that they were destined to be amongst the principal founders of the mightiest republic on earth,—little did they think that their posterity would become as numerous as the sands on the sea shore.—Little did they think that the spirit of religious freedom which glowed in their hearts would expand into those proud notions of personal independence which in the course of a century and a half would burst the ties of allegiance, defy the omnipotence of Parliament, the power of the crown, and the terrors of prerogative. The origin of American independence may

be clearly traced to the bold and uncompromising spirit of the puritans of New England.

The *May Flower* proceeded with favorable gales on her destined voyage which was to Hudson's river, but the winds soon changed and stormy weather succeeded, a main beam was sprung, and the company were half inclined to return, but the application of an iron screw having restored the beam to its place they resolved to proceed. A servant of Samuel Fuller died on the voyage, and a child was born to Stephen Hopkins who was called Oceanus.

On the ninth of November they first made land being a part of the south shore of Cape Cod, this land being to the north of their destination. They run south, but being entangled amongst the sands and shoals of cape Mallebarre * they put about. The danger of the navigation, and their eager anxiety after their long and fatiguing voyage to be put on shore, joined to the treachery of the captain who had been bribed by the Dutch West India Company not to land them on the shores of the Hudson, all conspired to alter their original destination, and induced them to run north. The Dutch had been anxious that they should settle in some of their colonies; but as the subjects of the republic; when they ascertained that they were determined to persevere in their allegiance to England they were apprehensive that they would interfere with their settlements on the Hudson. The title to the river and the adjacent country was still unsettled between Holland and England, and if the English title to the country should be strengthened by the occupation of English subjects, the Hollanders apprehended the destruction of theirs.

* Now part of Chatham.

The next day (Nov. 10) the May Flower doubled the extreme point of Cape Cod, and a storm approaching, anchored in a harbor* which bore the name of the cape, and was so called by Gosnold in 1602 from the great quantities of cod fish which he took there. Smith, the founder of Virginia, in his voyage along the coast in 1614 had called it Cape James, but the original name has been retained.

The master of the ship, alarmed by the diminution of provisions, pressed the pilgrims to a speedy determination as to a place of settlement in the neighborhood of the harbor and threatened to turn them on shore and to leave them to their fate. At length they resolved to land, but they found themselves beyond the limits of the South Virginia Company, and the charter granted to them by that Company became ineffectual. Their servants who had not been members of the Leyden congregation, but who for the most part had been received in England, manifested some signs of disobedience, and seemed to anticipate a perfect freedom from the restraints both of law, and of government:—Apprehensive that many difficulties might arise from this spirit of insubordination, the more reflecting part of the society judged it best that before they disembarked a compact to obey the laws established by the majority, should be signed by the whole company.

They were then under no authority whatever, and without any rule of government, restrained by no charter, and acknowledging no authority but that of a distant monarch who had not deigned to tell them how he would have them governed. Necessity drove them to natural law, and they adopted the only plan by which men thus situated could be governed without resorting to violence. To this

* Cape Cod Harbor, in Provincetown.

measure all consented, and after solemnly invoking the throne of grace, they subscribed the following compact unanimously.

‘ In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, king James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c, having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage, to plant the first colony in the Northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid ; and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws and ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient, for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due subjection and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the eleventh day of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, king James of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fiftyfourth, Anno Domini 1620.’

This compact was subscribed in the following order, by

	No. in Family.		No. in Family.
Mr John Carver,†	8	Edward Fuller,†	3
Mr William Bradford,†	2	John Turner,	3
Mr Edward Winslow,†	5	Francis Eaton,†	3
Mr William Brewster,†	6	James Chilton,†	3
Mr Isaac Allerton,†	6	John Crackston,	2
Capt. Miles Standish,†	2	John Billington,†	4
John Alden,	1	Moses Fletcher,	1
Mr Samuel Fuller,	2	John Goodman,	1
Mr Christopher Martin,†	4	Degory Priest,	1

† Those with this mark brought their wives.

	No. in Family.		No. in Family.
Mr William Mullins,†	5	Thomas Williams,	1
Mr William White,†	5	Gilbert Winslow,	1
[Besides a son born in Cape Cod Harbor, and named Peregrine.]		Edmund Margeson,	1
Mr Richard Warren,	1	Peter Brown,	1
John Howland (of Carver's family,)		Richard Butteridge,	1
Mr Stephen Hopkins,†	8	George Soule, (of Edward Winslow's Family,)	
Edward Tilly,†	4	Richard Clarke,	1
John Tilly,†	3	Richard Gardiner,	1
Francis Cook,	2	John Allerton,	1
Thomas Rogers,	2	Thomas English,	1
Thomas Tinker,†	3	Edward Dotey, }	Both of Stephen
John Ridgdale,†	2	Edward Leister, }	Hopkins' family.

This brief and comprehensive and simple instrument established a most important principle, a principle which is the foundation of all the democratic institutions of America, and is the basis of the republic, and however it may be expanded and complicated in our various constitutions, however unequally power may be distributed in the different branches of our various governments, has imparted to each its strongest and most striking characteristic.

Many philosophers have since appeared who have in labored treatises endeavored to prove the doctrine that the rights of man are unalienable, and nations have bled to defend and enforce them ;— yet, in this dark age, the age of despotism and superstition, when no tongue dared to assert, and no pen to write this bold and novel doctrine, a doctrine which was then as much at defiance with common opinion as with actual power, of which the monarch was then held to be the sole fountain, and the theory was universal that all popular rights were granted by the crown, in this remote wilderness, amongst a small and unknown band of wandering outcasts, the principle *that the will of the majority of the people shall govern*, was first conceived, and was first practically exemplified.

The pilgrims, from their notions of primitive Christianity, the force of circumstances, and that pure moral feeling which is the offspring of true religion, discovered a truth in the science of government which had been concealed for ages. On the bleak shore of a barren wilderness, in the midst of desolation, with the blasts of winter howling around them, and surrounded with dangers in their most awful and appalling forms, the pilgrims of Leyden laid the foundation of American liberty.

CHAPTER IV.

The Indians of New England.

THE historian who endeavors to trace the early history of the aboriginals of New England, is sorely perplexed.

All rude nations have preserved some memorials even of their earliest history by traditions and songs; but if any such existed amongst the natives of New England, they have escaped the notice of our forefathers. Their rugged language, deficient, (as it is said, in one of the parts of speech,) admitted not the melodies of song, and although their gloomy imaginations could indulge in disastrous prophecies, yet their language was too imperfect to embody them even into the uncouth form of Sybiline verses. They had neither music nor minstrels, and the chaunt of the bard was never known to resound in the forests of New England.

Equally destitute were they of the rudest monuments of art. The tumulus which rise in the most barbarous countries to perpetuate the memory of some savage hero was never discovered here, and their early history is a blank upon which the most indefatigable research cannot discover a trace. Within the limits of the Plymouth Colony, there is, however, one solitary monument of a *previous people*. It is a rock on the eastern bank of Taunton river, covered

with sculpture,* which would seem to indicate a design to perpetuate the remembrance of some event, by more enduring marks than the frail and temporary scratches of savages.

This rock was discovered by the English very early. In 1712 it attracted the attention of Cotton Mather, who wrote its description, which was published in the transactions of the Royal Society. Since then, the ingenuity of many antiquarians both in Europe and America has been exerted to explain the mysteries which its hieroglyphics are supposed to conceal.

Most of them have supposed that it was the work of the aboriginals, but the absence of any similar monument in North America, and the total ignorance of the natives as to its origin and design would seem to indicate in a manner too clear to admit of doubt, that we must look elsewhere for its authors. Some have conjectured that it was executed by a people who were passing from the state of hieroglyphical to that of alphabetical writing, and have imagined they could discern the traces of letters, and have cheered their imaginations with the splendid vision of a Phenician barque, driven by tempests across the Atlantic, and seeking the shelter of a quiet river to repair the injuries of the elements; and to these 'ancient mariners' would they assign the authorship of these strange characters, which bear, as they believe, a striking similarity to those of ancient Phenicia. If this rock was sculptured by the Phenicians, it is a monument of more remote antiquity than any in Europe. And it is the only vestige of a people who existed in

* Familiarly called the Dighton Rock, or the Writing Rock. This rock is about seven miles from Taunton in Assonet-neck, formerly a part of Taunton, then of Dighton, and now of Berkley. It stands on the low water line, measuring at its base eight or nine feet; four feet in height, smooth faced, and sloping towards the water.

the fabulous and heroic ages,—a people who first encountered the dangers of ocean navigation, and whose commercial enterprises imparted to the rude barbarians of the universal world the first softening touches of civilization.

A tradition has been brought forth recently by a modern Missionary, (the Rev. Mr Heckwelder) which deserves a place in this history. It is given with a few variations, in the words of a recent historian. This tradition is said to exist amongst the Delawares.

‘The Lenni Lenape [Delawares,] have a tradition that their forefathers, many hundred years past, resided in a very distant country in the western part of the American continent. They determined on migrating to the East. After a long journey they arrived at the banks of the Namœsi-Sipu, (Mississippi) where they fell in with the Mengwe, (Iroquois, or Five Nations) who had also emigrated from a distant country with similar objects, and were proceeding eastward until they should find a country which suited them. The territory east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a powerful nation who had built many large towns. This was the Alligewi, from whose name that of the Alleghany river and mountains have been derived. They were a gigantic race, had built regular fortifications, and had constructed their defences according to the rules of art. The Lenape requested of them permission to settle in their country, but were refused; but they gave them permission to pass through their country to seek a settlement at the eastward. As soon as they attempted the passage of the river, the Alligewi perceiving their vast numbers, attacked them furiously, and threatened to destroy them if they persisted.’

‘The Mengwe who had been passive spectators of the attempt of the Lenape and its failure, now offered to join

them, on condition, that after conquering the country, they should share it. This proposal was accepted, and the resolution was taken by the two nations that they would conquer or die. A war was commenced, which was attended with great slaughter. The Alligewi were attacked in their fortifications, and after the lapse of many years were compelled to abandon the country, and to escape down the Mississippi. The conquered country was divided. The Mengwe made choice of the lands in the vicinity of the great lakes, and on their tributary streams, and the Lenape occupied the lands more south. They preserved peace with each other and increased rapidly. Some of the most enterprising of the hunters and warriors of the Lenape crossed the mountains, and falling on streams running eastward, followed them down the Great Bay river, (Susquehannah) thence into the bay itself, (the Chesapeake.) As they pursued their travels near the salt water lake, (the Atlantic) they discovered the great river, (Delaware) thence exploring eastward through the Scheyichbi country, (New Jersey) they arrived at another great stream, (the Hudson river.) The country was uninhabited. The hunters returned with the news. Emigration commenced, and settlements were made on each of the four great rivers, the Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah and Potomac. The Delaware, to which they gave the name of Lenapewihittuck, was the centre of their possessions. Part remained on both sides of the Mississippi. More than half emigrated and settled on the Atlantic. The emigrants divided themselves into three tribes, viz : the Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf. The Turtle calling themselves Unamis, and the Turkey, Unalatchgo, selected ground nearest the sea, between the coast and high mountains. As they multiplied, their settlements extended from the Mohicannittuck, (river of the Mohicans, the Hudson) beyond the Po-

tomac. The Wolf tribe called Minci (Monseys) who lived in the rear of the two other tribes were the most warlike of the Lenape; they reached from Minisink, where they had their council seat and fire, quite to the Hudson on the east, and on the west and southwest far beyond the Susquehannah.'

'From these tribes composing the body of the Delawares, emanated others, who adopted or received various names, and who were called the grandchildren of the parent tribe. This was the case with the Mahicanni, or Mohicans in the east. Choosing to live by themselves, they crossed the Hudson river, called by them Mohicannituck, and spread themselves over all that country which now composes the Eastern States.—New tribes again sprung from them which assumed distinct names, still acknowledging the parent stock to be their grandfâther. The Delawares at last thought proper to enlarge their council house, for their Mahicanni grandchildren, that they might come to their fire, that is to say, be benefited by their advice, in order also to keep alive their family connexions and maintain a league with each other. In a similar manner a body of the Lenape, called Nanticokes, together with their offspring, proceeded south as far as Maryland and Virginia. The council house was extended for their benefit to the Potomac.'

'Meanwhile the Mengwe who had first settled on the great lakes, had always kept a number of canoes in readiness to save themselves in case the Allegewi should return, and their number also increasing, they had in time proceeded farther, and settled below the lakes, along the river St Lawrence. In their progress they again came in contact with the Lenape, their contiguity became the cause of hostility and terminated in establishing the

decisive superiority of the Mengwe, known afterwards to the English as the Five Nations.

Interesting and plausible as this tradition is made to appear,—supported as it is by the radical difference which is known to exist between the languages of the Iroquois and Delawares, and the striking similarity of all the dialects of the Atlantic tribes from New England to Virginia, a certain indication of a common origin, yet the weight of probability is with those who deny the existence of the tradition, which by them is traced to the fancy and the falsehood of the Indian narrators, and the overweening credulity of Heckwelder, unsupported by any oral history whatever.

Reluctantly do we yield to the force of the arguments of those who have questioned the existence of this tradition.—Yet facts more astonishing than these seem to be admitted by common consent, namely, that the European and American races are descended from a common ancestor, whose children proceeding east and west from the plains of central Asia, the cradle of the human race;—around the globe, after the lapse of thirty centuries, encountered each other in the American wilderness, exhibiting the most striking contrast in their habits, manners, customs, language, morals, laws, religion, knowledge, complexion, and physical organization, a dissimilarity so great that to a sceptical and unreflecting mind, it seems irreconcilable with the notion of a common origin.

The habits, manners, customs, and character of the aboriginals of America, have been so often described, that any but a very general description is unnecessary.

Some physical characteristics were common to the whole Indian race: straight black hair, tawny complexions, high cheek bones, and sunken but bright black eyes.

The moral characteristics of the Indians of North America, were no less striking by their similarity than the physical. Disdain of labor,—contempt of females,—unbounded hospitality to strangers,—ferocity in battle,—cruelty to captives,—respect for female chastity, and an eternal remembrance both of benefits and injuries seem to have been common to all.—Yet notwithstanding their general resemblance, there were between the different tribes some striking differences both physical and moral:—some were tall, straight, and slender;—others short, compact, and muscular. The physiognomical expression of some was always ferocious, of others mild.—Amongst some, the practice of adoption prevailed, and enemies were frequently admitted as sons of the tribe;—others were never known to spare an enemy. Some were intrepid;—others timid:—some detested falsehood;—others practiced it eternally:—some were haughty, insolent, and untractable;—others humble, civil, and docile.

The Indians of New England were less advanced in civilization than the Iroquois or the Delawares. The Pequots and Narragansetts appear to have acquired the greatest consideration amongst the first, perhaps in consequence of having learned the value of wampum or wampumpeag.*

Amongst the Indians this article was the substitute for the precious metals, and supplied their only circulating medium. The tribes which used it, became wealthy and powerful. At the time of the commencement of the English settlement, the Pequots and Narragansetts amongst whom it abounded, were growing comparatively

* Small beads manufactured from the shells of the quahag, a species of clam, polished, colored, and generally strung together on strips of cloth called belts.—Those which were made from the blue part of the shell were esteemed the most valuable.

into great power, while other tribes who were unacquainted with the uses to which it could be applied, fell into decay and poverty.

Unless stimulated to industry by artificial excitement, by the creation of new wants, and the desire of comforts beyond the gratification of animal appetites only, man would never emerge from the savage state, he would roam the forest a naked, solitary being seeking his food by violence, and his shelter in a cave or a tree. It seems to be a disposition of Providence, that at some period of his social existence, propitious to the developement of his powers and capacities, his acquired tastes should rouse him to laborious action. Had America remained forever a 'sealed country' to Europe, the desire of wampum alone might have elevated the Indians into merchants and navigators. Civilization would have followed the accumulation of property, and laws would have been established for its regulation and protection. Whether the great objects of man's pursuit be wampum or gold, the desire of either, or in other words, the passion for the acquisition of property would have taught him the mode to secure it when acquired.

The hospitality of the Indians was of the most generous and kindly character ;—they would share their food even to the last morsel with their guests, and their wigwams were always open to receive and shelter the stranger. They discovered considerable ingenuity in the simple manufacture of baskets and mats, and much skill in securing their game.—Their arms were bows and arrows, and stone hatchets or tomahawks ; of the use of iron and the metals generally, they were ignorant.—Their agriculture was confined to the culture of a species of maize, (denominated by the English, Indian corn) beans, squashes, and pumpkins, and in the south tobacco was cultivated in large

quantities. They had no beasts of draught and had acquired none of that knowledge which has imparted such prodigious productive power to the agriculture of civilized man. They were often in want of food, and sometimes underwent the sufferings of famine. They generally avoided hills and mountains, and were commonly found seated on the waters connected with the ocean, the bays, and tide rivers. Some, allured by the facility of obtaining fish, and wild fowl, dwelt in the vicinity of those small lakes (usually called ponds) with which New England abounds. Wild turkies and deer abounded in the forests, and these, with fish and vegetables, were their common food.

Amongst the Indian tribes of New England there was so little cohesion, that it is almost impossible to define with precision their territorial limits, or to understand to what degree they were connected with, or independent of each other, or the degree or extent of their dependence. The enterprise and ability of the chief might occasionally elevate a small tribe into consequence and power, and on the other hand his imbecility and vices might degrade a powerful tribe into a feeble one.

The tribes which, previously to the arrival of the English, inhabited the region bounded by the Connecticut river on the west, the ocean and its waters on the south and the east, and the Merrimack on the north, are said* to have been the Pequots, Narragansetts, Pokanokets, Massachusetts, and Pawtuckets;—of these the Pequots were the most powerful; they had not suffered from pestilence, and had learned the use of wampum. Their numbers are said (by Roger Williams,) to have amounted to thirty thousand souls, and Gookin estimates their warriors

* By Gookin.

at four thousand. (They must however have included the Mohegans with the Pequots.) The seat of their chief sachem was at Groton, [near New London] and he was acknowledged as chief by the Sagamores of that part of Long Island opposite the Connecticut river, by the Mohegans, and by a part of the Nipmucks. On the continent his dominion extended from a place called Weckapage, about four miles to the eastward of Pawcatuck river, which bounds Rhode Island on the southwest; north to the Nipmuck country, (if the Mohegans are to be considered as within their limits.) Although the historians generally speak of the Mohegans as distinct from the Pequots, yet Dr Trumbull, the modern historian of Connecticut, supposes they were a part of the Pequot nation, deriving their distinctive appellation from the territory on which they dwelt. They were certainly of the Pequot race. Their sachem Uncas was of the royal family of the Pequots, and his wife was the daughter of Tatobam, a Pequot sachem. If then the Pequots and Mohegans are to be considered as one nation, the boundary was the north line of Connecticut, for all the Nipmucks south of that line were tributary to the Mohegans and their dominion comprised the present counties of New London, Windham and Tolland, and a small part of Rhode Island.

Proud, revengeful, and cruel, this tribe was feared and detested by all their neighbors, and particularly by the Narragansetts, with whom they often waged war. Over the kindred Mohegans they domineered with great insolence. The Pequot was the only tribe in New England which exercised those horrid cruelties on their captives which so often shock us in Indian history.

When the English settled on Connecticut river, Uncas was in rebellion against Sassacus, the chief sachem of the Pequots, to whom he had been tributary. This proud and

powerful sachem held twentysix other sachems in subjection and dependence, and the western Niantics who inhabited a part of Lyme on the eastern side of Connecticut river were his confederates. His immediate and undisputed dominion extended over New London, Groton and Stonington, and a part of Westerley in Rhode Island. The harbor of New London bore the name of the tribe, and they had another harbor at the mouth of Mystic river. On a commanding eminence in Groton, which presents one of the most magnificent views in North America, they had constructed a large fortress, and surrounded it with a palisade. Here Sassacus resided. Another fortress of considerable strength had been erected on Mystic river.

It was the fortune of the English to encounter this tribe early, and their power and haughtiness occasioned their overthrow. They had incurred the deadly hatred of those whom Uncas governed, and the unconquerable jealousy of the Narragansetts, and when the English, provoked to hostilities by their insolence and cruelties, resolved to exterminate them, they found the Mohegans and Narragansetts willing and useful allies. The war with the English terminated in their utter overthrow, and the Pequot nation became extinct. A remnant under Sassacus fled to the west and threw themselves on the mercy of the Mohawks, but they found no mercy there, and Sassacus was beheaded. The remainder mingled with the Mohegans and Narragansetts, and lost their distinctive character.

The Narragansetts were a powerful tribe, who inhabited nearly all that territory which afterwards formed the colony of Rhode Island. They were bounded by the Pequots on the west, the Pokanokets on the east and northeast, the Nipmucks on the north, and the ocean on the

south. Their dominion extended over all the islands in the Narragansett Bay, and the sagamores of a part of Long Island, Manisses, (now Block Island) Cawesit, Niantick, and some others were their tributaries. Their boundary commencing at Weckapage on the southwest, ran north-erly about the distance of five miles from the present line of Connecticut, until it reached the Nipmuck country, a little south of the present north line of Rhode Island, and then turning east reached the Narragansett river (now called Seekonk and Providence river,) and was bounded by that river until it joined the Bay, and extended across the bay including the islands. The Pokanokets however laid some claim to Aquedneck (Rhode Island.)

The principal seats of the chief sachem of the Narragansett tribes were on the bay, and the island of Conanicut.

The tribes of Narragansett could raise five thousand warriors, and being situated between the Pequots and Pokanokets, were engaged in frequent and deadly hostilities with both, as well as with the Massachusetts.

The Narragansetts were a noble race. Caunonicus, their chief sachem, was princely in his donations. He gave to Roger Williams the whole county of Providence and the island of Prudence; and at his intercession, to the followers of Mrs Hutchinson the island of Rhode Island.

Miantonimo, his nephew, was a hero. To their friends their kindness and generosity had no limits, and although they utterly rejected the christian religion, their extraordinary attachment to Mr Williams induced them to endure his monthly preaching.

This tribe had suffered but little from the pestilence, and they would have subdued both the Pokanokets and the

Massachusetts had it not been for their fears of the Pequots at first, and then of the English.

The Narragansetts inhabited a country peculiarly adapted to their wants, abounding in fish and fowl and streams and lakes, and in the vicinity of the salt water and of a sea shore abounding in shell fish, on which during certain seasons they lived, and on a soil favorable to the culture of all the vegetables known in their simple agriculture.

They seldom suffered from the want of food, and the plenteousness of their living enabled them to shew more hospitality than any of the other tribes of New England. In their huts the stranger had the place of honor and the best of their fare.

When the English arrived, Caunonicus exercised the chief authority of the country, but it is supposed that he acted in the capacity of regent during the minority of his nephew Myantonimo, but when Myantonimo came of age, they seemed to exercise a concurrent power and never differed with each other.

The Pequots and Narragansetts lived more compactly than the other tribes. Their principal sachems were more absolute, and the authority of the sagamores or petty sachems was less, and they seldom suffered from the depredations of the Mohawks or Maquas, who were the terror of all the other Indians of New England, and who were no less hostile to them than the others, but their excursions seldom extended so far as the country of the Narragansetts.

All the tribes who inhabited that region comprised within the jurisdiction of New Plymouth as well as Cape-wack or Nope (Martha's Vineyard,) and Nantucket were known by the general name of Pokanokets, and under this term many small tribes were included. The Wampanoags inhabited the county now called Bristol in Rhode Island ;

these were the particular tribe of Massasoiet, and afterwards of his son Metacomet (or Philip;) the number of their warriors did not exceed sixty when the English arrived. The Pocassetts inhabited Swanzey, Somerset, part of Rehoboth and Tiverton; the sagamore of this tribe was Corbitant, who was succeeded by a female, the unfortunate Weetamore. The Saconets were the aboriginals of Little Compton; they also in Philip's war were governed by a female sachem, Awashonks. The Namaskets were seated at Middleborough; the Nausites at Eastham on Cape Cod; the Mattachees at Barnstable; the Monamoyts at Chatham; the Saukatucketts at Mashpee; the Nobsquassetts at Yarmouth.

All these tribes were subordinate to Massasoiet; his dominion also extended into the Nipmuck country, and most of the small tribes in that region acknowledged him as a superior: after the ravages of the deadly pestilence of 1612, by which the Massachusetts were nearly destroyed, the remainder acknowledged their dependence on him. Obtakiest a sachem within whose territory Boston was situated, informed the English that Massasoiet was his superior.

The desolation of the pestilence was horrible in the country of Pokanoket. Nearly the whole of the present counties of Plymouth and Bristol were depopulated; a few of the Namasketts, Santucketts and Pocassetts escaped. Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket, suffered less.

Previous to the pestilence, the Pokanokets had been a powerful people, and could raise three thousand warriors. They were generally confederated with the Massachusetts, and by this union they were able to resist the Narragansetts. At the period of the English settlement, however, the number of their warriors had been reduced to five hundred. so much had the country been depopulated

They seemed to have exercised a powerful influence over the Nipmucks, and in Philip's war he frequently fled there, when hard pressed by the English in his own country.

The Massachusetts dwelt chiefly about the bay from which they took their name. Once a powerful tribe and able to raise three thousand warriors, so much had the pestilence reduced them, that it is doubtful whether in 1630 they could have raised an hundred. Their sachem was acknowledged as chief by the tribes of Wessagussett,* Punkapaog,† Nonantam,‡ Nashua,§ and Neponsit,|| and a part of the Nipmucks. The Massachusetts were nearly exterminated by the pestilence. Their territory was bounded by that of Massasoiet on the south, the Nipmucks on the west, by the bay on the east, and by the Pawtucketts on the north and northeast. With their northern neighbors the Pawtucketts, as well as their southern the Pokanokets, they maintained a steady peace, and after the desolation of the pestilence, by acknowledging the superiority of Massasoiet, wisely united themselves by closer ties with the last. Notwithstanding this union, had not the Narragansetts been apprehensive of the Pequots, they could scarcely have maintained their independence.

The territory of the Pawtucketts extended from Salem on the south, to the north of the river Merrimack, as far as Piscataway, (Portsmouth) and to the Nipmuck country on the west, being bounded by the ocean on the east, comprising the county of Essex, a part of Middlesex, and a part of New Hampshire, and including the Penacooks,¶ Agawams,** Naumkeags,†† Piscataways,‡‡ Accomintas,§§ and others.—These tribes once could have raised for war

* Weymouth. † Stoughton. ‡ Newton. § Lancaster. || Quincy.
 ¶ On the Merrimack in New Hampshire. ** At Ipswich. †† At Salem.
 ‡‡ At Portsmouth. §§ In Maine.

three thousand men but the pestilence fell upon them and they were nearly exterminated. |||

West of the Massachusetts and Pawtuckets, and north of the Pokanokets, Narragansetts, and Mohegans over that part of the territory of the state of Massachusetts which includes the west part of the county of Middlesex, and the whole of the county of Worcester extending north into New Hampshire, and south into Connecticut and Rhode Island were thinly scattered several hordes or tribes called Nipmucks. Whether they received this general name by reason of a common origin, from the use of a common dialect, or from the country which they occupied is uncertain. They do not appear from any accounts which have reached us to have been in any degree subject to the control of a common sachem; but all were under a certain degree of subjection, and paid tribute to the Narragansetts, Pokanokets, and Mohegans. While the Massachusetts flourished they were principally under their control. They were collected in small settlements one of which was at Manchage,* another at Quaboag,† another at Chabakongkomen,‡ another at Maanexit,§ another at Quantisset,|| another at Wabqusset.¶

The Nipmucks were collected in families rather than tribes, and were constantly exposed to the alternate and fluctuating dominion of their more powerful neighbors. No principle of unity, or sense of common dangers, or common advantages had as yet combined them, and in all probability had not the English arrived, they would eventually have been incorporated with the most

||| Godkin estimates the whole number at 250.

* At Oxford in 1674, about 60 souls. † Brookfield. ‡ Dudley in 1674, about 45 souls. § In Woodstock containing in 1674, 100 souls || Also in Woodstock. ¶ Also in Woodstock, souls 150.

powerful of the surrounding tribes, and to such a union they would have been the more easily induced, being constantly subjected to the hostile incursions of the Mohawks, a powerful and warlike tribe, the terror of the New England Indians. The Mohawks were seated on the Mohawk river, in the State of New York, and all the tribes between the Connecticut and the Hudson, were their tributaries. All the Nipmucks in Connecticut were finally subjected by Uncas, and annexed to his sachemdom. The whole number of the Nipmucks was small, perhaps but little more than a thousand.

On Connecticut river at the places now called Hadley and Springfield, there were two small tribes probably of the same race, for the sachem of the Springfield tribe at the period of Philip's war, was the father of the sachem of the Hadley tribe.

That part of Massachusetts west of the Connecticut river was so near the Mohawks, that it was avoided by all the tribes of New England, and almost uninhabited:—in the present county of Berkshire, there was not a settlement.

On the lower part of the Connecticut river, besides the Nehanticks already mentioned, the Indians were numerous, but they were all divided into petty tribes, and had not acquired much power or consideration. They were numerous in Windsor, Hartford, Weathersfield, and Middletown. Within the limits of Windsor there were ten distinct tribes. In East Hartford, east of the Connecticut, the Podunks could muster two hundred warriors.

Sowheag a sachem of some reputation resided at Mattabesick, (now Middletown,) where he had constructed a strong fortress. His domain embraced both sides of the river, and on the north included Pyquag (now Wethersfield) which was held under him by the sagamore Sequin.

The Wongungs inhabited Chatham.

There was a considerable tribe at Machemoodus (East Haddan.)

The Nehanticks as already stated inhabited Lyme.

At some distance from the river on the west, the tribes were numerous, but not powerful. They were found at Sunbury, and New Hartford, Tunxis, (Farmington) a small tribe a Menunkatuck (Guilford) under a squaw sachem; at Branford and East Haven, there was another, at Wopowage (Milford) they were in great numbers and had constructed a fortress to resist the Mohawks. In Derby were two tribes, one at Paugesset, and one at Nau-gatuck. At Stratford they were numerous, and although they had suffered severely from the Mohawks, they could at the time the English settled Quinipiack (New Haven) bring out three hundred warriors. Two or three tribes inhabited Stamford, and there were many in Greenwich. In Norwalk were two small tribes. In Woodbury they were numerous. Dr Trumbull estimates these various tribes at five thousand souls, and allows them a thousand warriors, and he thinks their whole numbers within the limits of Connecticut at the time the English commenced their settlements were not less than sixteen thousand, and probably twenty thousand, and this is certainly far under the truth, if the estimate of the numbers of the Pequots be correct. At any rate Connecticut was more densely populated with Indians than any other territory of the same extent in North America, north of Mexico.

All the Indians in Connecticut with the exception of the Pequots and Mohegans, were tributary to the Mohawks. 'Two old Mohawks (says Dr Trumbull,) every year or two, might be seen issuing their orders and collecting their tribute, with as much authority and haughtiness as a Roman Dictator.'

If the payment of the tribute was neglected or refused, the country inhabited by these unfortunate tribes was ravaged and laid waste, and they were forced into captivity, or put to death. The ferocious Mohawks would pursue their timid victims even into the houses of the English, where they fled for protection, yelling out 'we are come, we are come to suck your blood,' and oftentimes were the hearths of the English covered with the blood of their Indian neighbors butchered in their presence. The Mohawks however were never known to molest the English, and they religiously abstained from forcing their doors, even if they had been closed for the protection of their tributaries.

From the Indians on Connecticut river, the English experienced but little trouble, for so great was their terror of the Mohawks, who were their unrelenting and dreaded enemies, that they sought the friendship of the English as their only hope.

The Mohawks were as much dreaded by all the tribes of the Massachusetts, the Pawtuckets and the Nipmucks, as they were by the Indians of Connecticut river. Four or five Mohawks would frighten whole bodies of them from their habitations and cornfields, into their fortresses, from whence they durst not come out to their labors. Nothing saved them from famine frequently, but the provisions of the English. They were afraid to visit their usual places of fishing and hunting, or even to go into the woods to gather nuts and roots; and to subsist themselves they were obliged to labor for the English.

The Mohawks like the Romans made war the business of their lives. In the Spring of each year, parties of fifty would collect and march forth in different directions each under its own leader. When near the places which they intended to despoil, they established a secret ren-

dezvous in the woods, and then leaving some of their number at the rendezvous, the remainder would divide into small parties of four or five, and place themselves in ambush near the paths which led by the habitations of their enemies, from those secret places they would shoot down, and rushing from their concealment, strip and scalp them and rifle their habitations. In some of their eccentric moods, emotions of kindness would steal into their hearts, and they would preserve the younger captives, treat them humanely, and adopt them into the tribe; but in general they spared none except the praying Indians, whom they seemed to consider as under the qualified protection of the English. They were never known to injure an Englishman either in person or property. The English frequently met them in the woods when they were defenceless, and the Indians armed, but never received from them the slightest insult.

Such was the situation, and such the circumstances of the Indian tribes which inhabited the territory now comprised within the limits of the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and a part of New Hampshire, when the English commenced the settlement of Plymouth. The country which they first occupied was sandy and barren, but fortunate was it for them that fate had thrown them upon a spot so little inviting:—depopulated by the pestilence, no enemies contended with them for its possession. The neighboring tribes of the Pokanoketts and Massachusetts, weakened as they were by the most dreadful of all calamities, and fearful of their more powerful Indian neighbors, were anxious to maintain a firm peace with the English.

The pious would say that the hand of Heaven was visible in all the circumstances which preceded and attended the introduction of the arts, sciences, knowledge, learning,

and religion of Europe into this part of the western wilderness, first by inflicting a desolating and deadly disease on the Indians, and then by guiding the English to the very spot which had been the theatre of its ravages, and to the vicinage of a people who from unavoidable calamities were so circumstanced as to be compelled to court their friendship, and to deprecate their hostility.

CHAPTER V.

John Carver elected the first Governor.—Expedition into the Country.—A Party sail up the Bay.—Birth of Peregrine White, the first born of New England.—Pilgrims Deliberate respecting their Place of Settlement.—Expedition sent out again to Explore the Coast.—First Encounter with the Natives.—Reach Plymouth Harbor, and Explore the Country.—Resolve to Lay out a Town at Patuxet or Apaum.—Pilgrims Land and call the place Plymouth, and erect Houses.—Miles Standish chosen Commander of the Military Force.—Visit of Samoset.—Visit of Squanto.—Massasoiet, the Chief Sachem of the Country, and his Warriors, visit them.—A treaty of Peace and Amity concluded with Massasoiet.—Carver confirmed as Governor for a year.—Billington's offence and punishment.—Death and character of Gov. Carver.—State of the Colony.

AFTER the pilgrims had signed the compact and had submitted themselves to a government, they proceeded to their first political act and unanimously elected John Carver, governor, who was to hold the office one year.

The legislative and judicial power was in the whole body, and the governor was the sole executive officer; no oath of office was required, and he entered upon his official duties without ceremony or parade.

No change was made in the government, regulation and discipline of the church, which remained as it had been when under the immediate superintendence and instruction of Robinson.

The master of the ship and the crew, continuing their importunities, the pilgrims resolved to commence their settlement without delay. Sixteen men offered to go on shore, and after procuring wood to examine the country.

They found it to be sandy, but well wooded, the growth being oak, pine, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, ash and walnut; sea-fowl and fish abounded in the waters, but they could find neither houses, fresh water, nor inhabitants. On the 13th, the women were sent on shore, attended by a guard, to wash the clothes; the weather was excessively cold, and the men being compelled to wade in the water, laid the foundation of diseases, which afterwards proved mortal to many. Their shallop needing considerable repairs, they resolved on an excursion into the country. For this purpose sixteen men completely armed, were placed under the command of Captain Miles Standish, with William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilly for a council of war, who after being instructed, were reluctantly permitted to go forth, (Nov. 15.) After marching about a mile in a southern direction, they saw five Indians, who fled with precipitation. Night overtaking the English, they discontinued the pursuit, and rested. On the next morning they followed the trace about ten miles, but being fatigued with the weight of their armor, and laboring under debility arising from scurvy, consequent to their long voyage, they halted near a spring from which they quaffed the first refreshing draught of American water. Continuing their journey, they discovered an Indian burial-place, and in one of the graves they found a mortar, an earthen pot, a bow, with arrows and other articles which they replaced with great care; they also discovered what they supposed to be the remains of a fortification. Finding a hole in the ground, covered with sand, and lined with bark, containing some maize or Indian corn in ears,—after a discussion on the morality of the act, they resolved to take the corn. Had the company been perishing with hunger, this appropriation of the property of others might have been justified. As

it was, it was inexcusable; the corn was not a waif; every necessary precaution had been taken by the savage owner to secure it. The excuse which some of their fanatical brethren would have made 'that the Lord had given them the heathen for an inheritance, and a spoil,' was wanting to them, for they compromised with their consciences by resolving upon the spot that they would make compensation to the owners whenever they should discover them, and fortunately for their moral reputation, six months afterwards they carried that resolution into effect, and fully satisfied the owners for this and smoe other corn which they had taken. The next day, with much difficulty they reached the ship, and delivered the corn into the common store; this act, however, was probably the means of saving the colony from starvation, for the grain was all saved for planting, and from its product they derived at one time their sole support. Seventeen days elapsed before the shallop could be prepared for sea, and they then undertook further discoveries. Jones the captain, with ten of the crew, and twentyfour of the company, sailed up the bay during a high wind and a rough sea. The shallop soon anchored and landed part of the company, who were anxious to proceed. The weather was excessively cold, and it snowed, yet these hardy men braved the inclemency of the elements unsheltered. The next day they went on board, and soon discovered a harbor, fit only, however, for boats, which they called Cold Harbor, (the mouth of Paomet Creek, between Truro and Wellfleet.) They shot some sea-fowl, which they devoured with 'soldiers' stomachs,' and again went in pursuit of corn, which, although the ground was covered with snow, they fortunately discovered, as sand was heaped over the holes where it was concealed; they opened the frozen ground with their swords, and obtained about ten bushels

and some beans. These pious men referred everything to Providence, and they never doubted but that it was the special interposition of the Almighty which furnished them with this additional supply, without which, they supposed they could not have subsisted.

The captain returned to the ship with the shallop, taking the corn. Fifteen of the men went with him—the others remained.

Those who remained marched into the woods, and discovered a grave covered with boards, and upon opening it, they found mats and Indian ornaments, and between the mats, bowls, trays, and dishes; under a new mat they found two bundles, one of which contained a great quantity of fine red powder, covering the bones and skull of a man. The skull was covered with fine *yellow* hair. In this bundle were a knife, packneedle, a sailor's canvass frock, and a pair of cloth breeches, and some iron articles.* The other bundle contained the bones and head of a little child, surrounded with the same kind of red powder, and bound round with strings of wampum, and a small bow. Two of the sailors discovered for the first time two Indian houses, (or wigwams.) They were formed by placing one end of young saplings in the ground and bending them over, and securing the other ends, and covering them with mats;—in shape resembling a cone, a hole being left open at the top (for the smoke to escape,) which was occasionally covered with a mat; mats also served for doors and beds. These wigwams were matted within and without.

The furniture of the wigwams consisted of wooden bowls, trays and dishes, earthen pots, and hand baskets

* These remains were probably those of a European sailor;—the yellow hair, knife, needle, frock, &c, seem to prove it.

made of crab shells wrought together. The ornaments were deer's feet and horns, and eagle's claws.

They found in some of the baskets parched acorns and peices of fish, and some venison in a hollow tree.

The material of these manufactures, such as flag, sedge, and bulrushes lay scattered about the wigwams. *Some of the best things they took!* The shallop arriving, they returned in her to the ship. While they were absent, the wife of William White had borne a son, who received the name of Peregrine,* the first child which was born in New England.†

At this time the pilgrims held a solemn consultation respecting their final settlement. Some were favorable to a settlement at Cold Harbor, because the ground was prepared for the cultivation of Indian corn, and although the harbor would admit nothing but boats, yet it seemed to offer some advantages both for whale and cod fishing.

* William White died in the course of the ensuing spring. His widow, Susanna, married the celebrated Edward Winslow, who was the third Governor of the Colony. (This marriage was solemnized May 12, 1621, being the first in the Colony.) Peregrine White died at Marshfield near Plymouth, July 20th, 1704, having outlived the existence of the colony as a separate government. The following account taken from the 'Boston News-Letter,' being the 15th number of the first newspaper that was printed in North America, is given entire.

'Marshfield, July 22d. Capt. Peregrine White, of this town, aged eighty-three years and eight months, died here the 20th inst. He was vigorous, and of a comely aspect to the last; was the son of William White and Susanna his wife, born on board the May Flower, captain Jones, commander, in Cape Cod Harbor, 1620, the first Englishman born in New England. Although he was, in the former part of his life, extravagant, yet he was much reformed in his last years, and died hopefully.'

† Edward Thompson, a servant of Mr White, died on the 4th of December, being the first death since the arrival of the Pilgrims. On the 6th, Jasper Carver, a son of the governor, died. On the 7th, Mrs Dorothy Bradford, wife of Mr Bradford, accidentally fell overboard and was drowned; and on the 8th James Chilton died.

The place was healthful, secure, and defensible. But the reasons which were mainly urged in favor of this measure, were the inclemency of the season, the bad health of the company, (most of them being afflicted with defluxions and coughs,) and the danger of exploring the other parts of the coast in a season so inclement.

Some insisted that they should proceed about twenty leagues further, to a place called Agawam, (now Ipswich in Massachusetts) a harbor which was known to fishermen who had been on the coast, but upon the suggestion of Robin Coppin who informed them that there was a large navigable river and a good harbor across the bay to the westward over against Cape Cod, and not more than eight leagues distant, they were induced once more to send out the shallop for the purpose of exploring the coast around the bay.

On the 6th day of December, Governor Carver, Mr Bradford, Mr Winslow, Captain Standish, Mr Howland, Mr Warren, Mr Hopkins, Mr Edward Tilly, Mr John Tilly, Mr Clarke, John Allerton, Thomas English, and Edward Dotey, together with Coppin the pilot, the master gunner of the ship, and three of the common seamen, embarked in the shallop, in weather of such intense coldness, that the spray which fell upon their clothes instantly congealed into ice.

They sailed six or seven leagues without finding either river or creek, until they came to a sandy point of land stretching some distance into the sea, (Billingsgate point, part of Welfleet,) after doubling the point they found a harbor of a league in width, in the narrowest part; they proceeded to the opposite part of this harbor, where they discovered a number of Indians engaged in cutting up a grampus, who immediately fled. The harbor being full of shoals they landed with some difficulty. And after

building a slight barricade and placing their sentinels, rested for the night in sight of the smoke of the Indian fires at the distance of four or five miles.

The next morning leaving eight men in the shallop to coast along the shore, the remainder were landed, and following the Indian tracks discovered a path which led them some way into the woods to a great burying place surrounded with a palisade and full of graves, some being enclosed, and some covered with frames, and many were without the enclosure. They soon returned to the water, and finding their boat in a creek, they erected a barricade of logs, and lay down to rest. At midnight they were alarmed by a great noise, but after discharging a couple of muskets it ceased. At dawn of day (December 8) while at their devotions, (part of their arms having been deposited in the boat and covered with clothes) they first heard the terrific war yell of the savages; after they had made an ineffectual discharge of their arrows, those of the English who had retained their arms, seized them immediately and stood on the defensive; two muskets were discharged, and the other men who were armed were ordered not to shoot until they could take sure aim, there being but four who had retained their muskets. The Indians seeing the others run to the shallop, attacked them violently, but being secured by armor, and armed with curtel axes they sustained themselves until they obtained their muskets from the boat, and after making a general discharge, the Indians were intimidated;—one of them, however, keeping within musket shot, continued to discharge his arrows from behind a tree but a bullet having struck the tree and scattered the bark and splinters about his ears, he took to his heels, and they all fled. The English pursued them a short distance with shouts, to show that they were not intimidated, and then returned to their shallop. Thus

terminated the first encounter between the English and aboriginals without bloodshed on either side, and they named the place First Encounter.* The English gathered the arrows, and sent them to England as presents to their friends.

After devoutly returning their thanks to God for this deliverance, they reimarked in the shallop, but it being near night, a storm approaching, and having broken their rudder they put before the wind steering with oars. To complete their misfortunes, the mast broke ; — they reached the harbor however, but being uncertain where they were, the pilot and master's mate would have run the boat ashore in a rocky cove, but by the resolution of one of the seamen they were induced to put it about, and by hard rowing they ran under a small island where they sheltered themselves for the night. Compelled by the severity of the cold, they went on shore and kindled a fire ; they found the island uninhabited, and named it Clarke's Island.† A spacious harbor lay before them which they explored and sounded, and found it of sufficient capacity to receive shipping, and full of fish and sea-fowl. After completing their examination of this harbor, they landed and discovered many fields where the Indian corn had been cultivated, and fine water. They again set sail and returned to Cape Cod Harbor. Induced by the favorable report of the adventurers, the company resolved to commence their settlement at this place.

* The place where this encounter happened was supposed by Morton and others to have been Namskeket, at a creek between Eastham and Harwich. Others suppose it to have been at Great Meadow creek, a place situated further down the Cape. The attack was made by the Nauset Indians whose chief seat was but a few miles from Namskeket.

† At the entrance of Plymouth Harbor.

*This is the Landing commemorated by
celebration of the 22nd of Dec.*

*x Dec 11.
or 22.*

The ship with all the company sailed on the 15th and anchored in Plymouth harbor on the 16th. Four had died at Cape Cod.

On the 18th a party explored that part of the country which immediately surrounded the harbor, and were well pleased with the quality of the soil, and with the native growth of the woods, but they discovered neither inhabitants nor houses.

On the 19th* after another superficial examination of the country, finding a place where much land had been cleared, in the neighborhood of a small but pleasant stream which they supposed to be well stored with fish, and of many springs of sweet water, and of a high hill which could be fortified in a manner so as to command the surrounding country, they resolved to lay out a town. A storm arising, they were unable for two days to go off to the ship, but remained unsheltered on shore.†

x On the 22d the company left the vessel and landed on a rock near the shore, which now bears a consecrated character, to which pilgrimages are made, and to which the posterity of the pilgrims delight to throng, to call up the sublime associations with which its history is connected, and to view the spot which received their forefathers.

The honor of having first placed the foot on this immortal rock has been pertinaciously claimed for John Alden and Mary Chilton. It is now impossible to settle this question of precedence—neither is it of any importance for the illustration of human character to know which it was,—for such a purpose it is far more important to ascertain who it was that first embarked in the ship which was to bear the pilgrims forever from the civilized world,

* Mourt. Prince says the 20th.

† On the 21st Richard Butteridge died which was the first death at Plymouth.

x This is erroneous. The rock was first trodden by the Pilgrims Dec. 11. O.S. that is Dec. 22 N.S., eleven days before this era, and by Baylies. The ship's company went on shore gradually, as tenements were prepared for 22^d (of Baylies) "we would not get a land." Mourt in II. M. A. Hist. Ch. 18. 42.

to commence an undertaking full of danger, and pregnant with events.

On the 23d, the settlers began to cut the timber for their houses and to drag it to the place where they intended to build. Nineteen families were made up, the single men joining themselves to some of the families. This arrangement lessened the labor of building. To the largest families the largest portions of land were allotted, and to every person half a pole in breadth, and three poles in length; lots were cast to ascertain the owners, and the separate parcels were designated by stakes. This small quantity of land was deemed sufficient for all their wants, and as much as could be cultivated.

With as much despatch as the feeble health of the company would permit, they erected a store house of twenty feet square, with a thatched roof where their goods were deposited under the care of a guard.

On the 31st of December, they named their settlement **PLYMOUTH**, because this place had been so called by Capt. Smith, who had previously surveyed the harbor, and they remembered the kindness which they had experienced from the people of Plymouth in England. And on this day, (it being Sunday) they worshipped for the first time, at this place.

Soon after, Capt. Standish, with some of the company, went out to search for the natives, but could find none.

In this excursion an eagle was shot, and so grateful was the flesh of this nauseous bird to these famished men, that they compared it to mutton.

On the 8th of January, Francis Billington discovered a body of water which he supposed to be a large sea, but it proved to be two small lakes which bear the name of Billington's sea to this day.

On the 9th they began to erect their habitations on both sides of a street which they had previously laid out.* *Every man built his own house.* As soon as a building was completed a family left the ship and occupied it, but the weather was so stormy that they could seldom work more than three days in a week. During this time a part of the people slept in the vessel, and part on shore.

On the 14th of January the common house took fire. All their ammunition, and a part of their arms were deposited in the house. Governor Carver and Mr Bradford were confined to their beds within, by illness, but by great exertion, the fire was extinguished, and the lower part of the building was saved. The people in the ship being unable to reach the shore, were excessively alarmed, supposing that the Indians had attacked them. A succession of fine days soon following, they were enabled to repair the common house, and to proceed rapidly with the other buildings.

On the 16th of February one of the settlers who was out in pursuit of game, discovered twelve Indians, and giving the alarm, the people went out but could not discover them. Alarmed by the appearance of these Indians, a general meeting of the company was called. Military orders were established, and Miles Standish was chosen Captain, with full authority to order all the military concerns.

During the meeting, two savages shewed themselves on the hill, and by signs invited the people to come to them. Standish and Hopkins went out to meet them, but they fled.

* The street which runs from the meeting house to the water, now called Leyden street.

So great was the sickness during this month, that seventeen died. Eight had died in the preceding month.* The voyage from England had been long, and the scurvy commenced its ravages. Few and miserable were the comforts which this poor people could obtain; at one time there were not more than six or seven who were in sufficient health to go out, (amongst whom were Standish and Brewster.) These attended the sick with unwearied assiduity, sparing no labor, and shunning no sort of service. Governor Carver recovered early in March.

The Indians had hitherto kept aloof from the settlers, but on the 16th of March, one came in alone, and with great boldness addressed them by saying 'welcome Englishmen.' He was perfectly free in his deportment, and very communicative. He informed them that he was a sagamore,† and that he lived at some distance, but had been for some time in the vicinity of the settlement, and that his name was Samoset. He appeared to possess a thorough knowledge of the neighboring country and its inhabitants. He informed them that the place where they were was called Patuxet,‡ and that a few years previous to their landing all its inhabitants died of a plague, of such a deadly nature that it spared neither man, woman nor child, and that no one could make any claim to the land, or rightfully molest them. He also informed them that their next neighbors were the Wampanoags, (the English supposed he called them Massasoits, but that was

* Jan. 29—Mrs Rose Standish, wife of Capt. Standish, died.

Feb. 21—Mr William White, Mr William Mullins, and two more, died.

“ 25—Mrs Mary Allerton, wife of Mr Isaac Allerton, died.

† A petty chief.

‡ The Indians did not name places arbitrarily, but from its peculiarities; the name of Patuxet was attached to many places in New England.

the name of their chief sachem,) that they had sixty warriors, and that the Nausites, to the southeast, could raise an hundred.

The savages who had encountered them were Nausites. They were hostile to the English, having killed three of sir Ferdinand Gorges' men a few months before. The Nausites were justly suspicious of the English. An English ship-captain whose name was Hunt, a few years before, had trepanned twenty of the Patuxet Indians and seven Nausites, (who unsuspectingly went on board his ship,) and perfidiously sold them for slaves.

The next day the English dismissed Samoset with presents, after requiring him to cause the restoration of some tools which had been stolen in the woods, and after he had promised to return with some of Massasoit's men to bring beaver-skins for traffic. He soon returned in company with five Nausites dressed and painted in all the extravagance of the Indian fashion, and bringing back the tools which had been lost; they were received with much hospitality by the English, and made many demonstrations of friendship, feeding heartily upon the food which was set before them, and singing and dancing after their manner. They brought some skins, but the English would enter into no traffic on the Lord's day. They departed, extremely gratified with their reception, and promised to return and bring more skins.

Samoset feigning himself sick, remained a day or two longer; he was then despatched to find the other Indians. While he was absent, two or three Indians appeared on the hill, using threatening gestures, but Standish and another approaching them armed, they fled, after making a show of defiance. On the next day, (March 22) Samoset returned in company with four others, amongst whom was

Squanto or Tisquantum,* who was the sole remaining native of Patuxet. Squanto was one of those who had been decoyed by Hunt; he had resided for some time in London with one Slany, a merchant, and had learned a little English. They brought some skins and a few fish to sell, and informed the English that the great sagamore Massasoiet, with Quadequina his brother, and all his force, were near.

Massasoiet soon appeared on the hill with sixty men. The English were unwilling that the governor should go to them, and they were apprehensive of approaching the English. Squanto was despatched to ascertain their designs, and they signified through him that they were desirous that some one should be sent to hold a parley. Edward Winslow was sent with presents for the chief, which were willingly accepted, and Winslow's address was heard with great attention, although the interpreters did not succeed very well in explaining it.

He told the sachem that 'king James saluted him with the words of love and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally, and that the governor desired to see him, and to trade with him, and to live on friendly terms with his near neighbor.' The sword and armor of Winslow caught the attention of the sachem, and he expressed a wish to buy them, but the sword and armor of Edward Winslow were not for sale: leaving Winslow in the custody of his brother, and followed by twenty men, who left their bows and arrows behind, he crossed a brook which ran between him and the English.

Capt. Standish and Mr Williamson, with six men armed with muskets, met the sachem at the brook, and after salutations had been exchanged, attended him to the

* He was called by both names.

house, and placed a green rug and three or four cushions on the floor for his accommodation. The governor, preceded with a flourish of a drum and trumpet (the sound of which excessively delighted the Indians,) and followed by several soldiers, entered the house. The governor and sachem, after saluting each other, sat down together and regaled themselves with meat and drink; and then the following Treaty was proposed by the governor and agreed to by Massasoiet.

1. 'That neither he, nor any of his, should injure or do hurt to any of their people.'

2. 'That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender, that they might punish him.'

3. 'That if anything were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should do the like to his.'

4. 'That if any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him; and if any did war against them, he should aid them.'

5. 'That he should send to his neighbor confederates, to inform them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might likewise be comprised in these conditions of peace.'

6. 'That when his men came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their arms, (which were bows and arrows) behind them.'

'Lastly. That so doing, their sovereign lord, king James, would esteem him as his friend and ally.'

All which he liked well, and withal at the same time 'acknowledged himself content to become the subject of our sovereign lord the king aforesaid, his heirs and successors; and gave unto them all the lands adjacent, to them and their heirs forever.'*

* Morton's New England Memorial.

Thus was concluded the first treaty between the English and the Indians of New Plymouth ; — a treaty, though simple in its terms, important in its consequences, for it was a treaty of peace, and of alliance offensive and defensive, and its conditions were faithfully observed for a period of fiftyfive years, exhibiting an instance of unexampled good faith, fidelity, and honesty, in both parties. The verbal acknowledgment, if coupled with the treaty, involved consequences more important, for it contained a grant of land and a consent to the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the English king over it.

Although Massasoiet was pleased with the result of the conference, yet he was under great alarm, which was manifested from his trembling. He was a large and good looking man, but very grave and taciturn in his deportment.

The sachem and his followers, after leaving six or seven hostages for Mr Winslow, retired with their wives and children into the woods where they slept during the night. Quadequina and those who were with him, were well received by the English, and were conveyed back together with the hostages, and Winslow returned.

These Indians promised to plant their corn, and to dwell near the English during the approaching summer. During the night the English kept strict watch. The next morning the Indians visited them again and informed them that the sachem wished to see some of them. Captain Standish and Isaac Allerton immediately ventured to go amongst them, and were kindly received. There was not the slightest indication of hostility on the part of the Indians. The English pursued their usual occupations in the woods, and were not molested.

The sachem was the more induced to cultivate the friendship of the English, inasmuch, as he was very apprehensive of the Narragansetts, a powerful and hostile tribe in his vicinity.

On the next day the Indians returned to Sowams,* their head quarters.

Samoset and Squanto, who had contracted a strong affection for the English remained with them, and instructed them in the manner of taking fish, and in the simple agriculture of their countrymen, shewing them how the corn should be planted, and how the ground should be manured with alewives, (of which, immense quantities came into the brook,) and rendered them many kind offices. Squanto also acted as their pilot, conducting them to all the places where any traffic could be had, and never left them during his life. They planted twenty acres to corn, and six to barley and peas. The corn produced well, but the barley and peas failed. On the 25th of March, the company met and passed some laws and military orders, and confirmed Carver in the government for another year.†

On the next day the whole company was convened for the purpose of judging of the offence of John Billington, which was the first that had been committed amongst them. He had insulted the captain with opprobrious language, for which they adjudged him to have his neck and heels tied together; but after humbling himself and craving pardon, he was forgiven. Billington was not one of the Leyden congregation, but was shipped at London. The settlers lost by death during the month of March, thirteen more of their number, and more than half the sailors died during their residence here.

On the 5th of April, the May Flower sailed for England, where she arrived on the 6th of May.

On the same day, the colony met with a great loss by the death of the governor. He had been working in the

* In the ancient Swansey, near the present town of Warren in Rhode Island.

† Mrs Elizabeth Winslow wife of Mr Edward Winslow died.

field, but left it at noon, complaining of a severe pain in his head which was caused as he supposed by the sun, he soon became senseless, and in a few days died. The grief of the colonists was almost inconsolable. They buried him with the honors of war. His wife, who was strongly attached to him, overcome with sorrow, survived him but six weeks.

His biographer* says, 'that he was a man of great prudence, integrity, and firmness of mind. He had a good estate in England, which he spent in the emigration to Holland and America. He was one of the foremost in action, and bore a large share of sufferings in the service of the colony, who confided in him as their friend and father. Piety, humility, and benevolence, were eminent traits in his character, and it is particularly remarked, that in the time of general sickness, which befel the colony, and with which he was affected, after he had himself recovered, he was assiduous in attending the sick, and performing the most humiliating services for them without any distinction of persons or characters.'†

* Dr Belknap.

† Death had made great havoc in this little community at the time of the death of Governor Carver, of the signers of the compact there then only remained

	Died.		
Mr William Bradford,	1657	Francis Cook,	
Mr Edward Winslow,	1655	Francis Eaton,	
Mr William Brewster,	1644	John Billington,	Executed 1630
Mr Isaac Allerton,		Gilbert Winslow,	
Capt. Miles Standish,	1656	Peter Brown,	
John Alden,	1686	George Soule, (of Edward Winslow's	
Mr Samuel Fuller,	1633	Family,)	
Mr Richard Warren,	1628	Richard Gardiner,	
John Howland (of Carver's		Edward Dotey,	} Both servants of
family,) aged 80 Feb. 22	1672	Edward Leister,	
Mr Stephen Hopkins,			} Stephen Hopkins.

known except by inference and strong probability, that he was one of Robinson's church who emigrated from England to Holland. He first appears as the agent of the church to treat with the Virginia company, of which church he is said to have been one of the deacons, and it is also said that he had once possessed a large property, which had been impaired during his exile. The same uncertainty seems to rest upon his family. At the time of signing the compact, (including John Howland,) it was eight in number. Afterwards, on the sixth of December, his son Jasper died, and his wife, overcome with grief for the loss of her husband and son, soon followed them to the grave. Yet there were children remaining, but their names are nowhere mentioned, neither in the instrument relating to the assignment of the lands, nor in that relating to the division of the cattle; neither do they appear at any subsequent time in the annals of the colony; they attained no civil honors; they rose to no distinction; but less fortunate than the children of the other governors, they remained in obscurity and were unnoticed by the people. A grandson of Governor Carver who lived at Marshfield, acquired some notoriety in consequence of his extreme age, having lived until he was 102. This grandson was alive as late as 1755, for in that year he was seen laboring in the same field with his son, grandson, and great grandson, while an infant of the fifth generation was in his house. It is also said that the celebrated traveller was descended from the governor. From the account which is given of his death, it would seem to have been occasioned by a stroke of the sun, and yet it is not a little remarkable that such an effect should have been produced in this climate on the fifth of April. His posterity are numerous. From all that appears, he was nearly perfect in all the moral and christian virtues.

The account in Prince p. 190. The cause of Carver's death was probably an apoplexy. He did not die April 5. but considerably later. After this we planted twenty acres of Indian corn. Whilst we are busy about our seed, our governor comes out of the field very sick. He

CHAPTER VI.

William Bradford elected Governor, and Isaac Allerton an assistant, or Deputy Governor.—Duel.—Edward Winslow, and Stephen Hopkins, visit Massasoiet at Sowams.—A boy lost and recovered.—Hobbomock comes to Plymouth to reside.—Corbitant's quarrel with Squanto and Hobbomock.—Standish's expedition to rescue Squanto, and his attack upon Corbitant's hut.—Submission of several native Chiefs.—Prediction of a Frenchman.—Colonists explore Massachusetts Bay.—Arrival of the Fortune, bringing Mr Cushman and thirtyfive passengers.—Hostility of the Narragansetts.—Town enclosed.—Military discipline established.—Standish sets out in the Shallop on a trading voyage to the Massachusetts.—Alarm at Plymouth.—Squanto's duplicity, and Massasoiet's resentment.—Arrival of the Sparrow.—Edward Winslow despatched to purchase provisions of the Fishermen.—Distress of the Colonists for food.—Threats of the natives.—Colonists erect a Fort.—Arrival of the Charity and the Swan with Weston's Company.—They settle at Wessagusset (Weymouth) Their profligate conduct.—Arrival of the Discovery and the Swallow.—Trading Expeditions to procure food.—The miserable situation of the plantation at Wessagusset.

1621. SHORTLY after the death of Carver, William Bradford was elected his successor, but being in indifferent health, at his request an assistant or deputy Governor was chosen. The choice fell on Isaac Allerton.

Bradford was a native of Ansterfield in the north of England where he was born in 1588. He had been educated to husbandry which was the occupation of his kinsfolk. His inheritance was considerable, but his education was indifferent. At the early age of twelve he spent all his leisure time in reading the Scriptures, and became seriously impressed. He firmly maintained his religious opinions notwithstanding the opposition of his

relatives and the odium which followed the character of a separatist.

He was a constant attendant upon the preaching of Clifton, and connected himself with Robinson's church. At the age of eighteen, he attempted to emigrate to Holland, but was apprehended and imprisoned at Boston in England, but being very young, he was soon liberated. After many difficulties and disappointments he finally succeeded in reaching Holland.

At Leyden he learned the art of dying silk. When he came of age he sold his estate in England, and entered upon commerce.

He was one of the most zealous advocates for the removal of Robinson's church to America.

His zeal, his devotion to the society, his enterprising spirit, and his industry, all conspired to give him such a degree of consideration, that upon the death of Carver, (although he was then very ill,) all eyes were turned upon him as his successor, the company postponed the election until he had partially recovered, and then elected him governor at the early age of thirtytwo

On the eighteenth of June, (1621,) the whole company were convened to adjudge upon the second offence which had been committed in the colony; this, was a duel fought with sword and dagger between Edward Doty and Edward Leister, the servants of Stephen Hopkins, in which both were wounded. The company sentenced them to have their heads and feet tied together, and so to remain for a day without meat or drink, but within an hour, upon their solicitations and promises, and the request of their master, they were released by the Governor. The slight punishment bestowed upon this offence, seems surprising even in these days, but it did not accord with the martial spirit of that age to punish such offences

* The facts do not warrant these reflections.

rigorously. Indulgence in sensual pleasures found but little favor with the austere pilgrims, but a hostile re- counter of this sort, although deemed an offence worthy of punishment, was viewed with less displeasure.

In July (1621) Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins were despatched by the Governor to visit Massasoiet. The object of this measure was to gain a better knowledge of the country, to ascertain the strength and power of the sachem, 'to apologise for some misbehavior, to establish and regulate an intercourse, to procure corn, and to strengthen their mutual good understanding.' Squanto went with them as a guide.

They carried a horseman's laced coat of red cotton, and a chain, for presents.

This was the first attempt of the English to explore the interior.

The first Indian town which they reached was Namasket,* distant about fifteen miles from Plymouth, and under the rule of Massasoiet. The messengers were well known to these Indians (who resorted to Plymouth almost daily for the purpose of fishing,) and were received with great joy, and regaled with bread called Mazium, made of the Indian corn, and also with the roes of shad which were boiled with acorns.

They then went about eight miles farther, where they reached a river called by the natives Titicut,† where they found many of the Namasket Indians fishing at a weir,‡ where they caught bass in great plenty; here, an interchange of hospitable offices took place between Winslow

* In Middleborough.

† Now called Taunton river.

‡ This weir is supposed to have been at or near a village now called Titticut, partly in Bridgewater, and partly in Middleborough.

and Hopkins and the natives, each partaking of the others' provisions.

They lodged that night in the open fields, the Indians having no wigwams, although they spent much of the summer there.

The land on both sides of the river was cleared and well adapted to cultivation. They were informed by the natives that there once had been many settlements on its banks, but that the whole country in the neighborhood of the river had been depopulated by a pestilence, so fatal, that the living were unable to bury the dead. The account of the Indians was corroborated by the sight of many skeletons which lay bleaching on the ground as they passed.

The next morning the ambassadors continued their journey accompanied by six of the natives. Having travelled six miles they reached a fording place,* and prepared to cross the river. Here they were encountered on the opposite bank by two aged men, being the only individuals in this part of the country who had survived the pestilence, who prepared with great resolution to resist their passage, but understanding they were friends, they received them with much kindness and gave them food, which was reciprocated by the present of a bracelet of beads. Here they ascertained the ebb and flow of the tide. Notwithstanding the extreme heat of the weather they continued their journey, quenching their thirst with the fine water of the springs which they found in great abundance. Their savage companions departed themselves with great civility, and showed them many kind attentions, bearing them through the waters of the small rivers, and offering to carry their clothes and their guns; but they proportioned their civilities between the two Englishmen as they

* Near the new forge on Taunton River, about three miles from the green.

themselves had experienced kindness from the one, or the other.

In passing along by the river, they discovered but few places which had not been once inhabited ; the ground was cleared, but the signs of the ravages of the plague were apparent everywhere. The weeds overtopped their heads, denoting the fertility of the soil, but silence and desolation reigned throughout this depopulated region. The wood was oak, walnut, fir, beech, and gigantic chesnuts.

They reached a village of Massasoiet's and after satisfying their hunger with a meal of fish and oysters, proceeded to Pokanoket,* the residence of the chief, who was absent. One of them attempting to charge his gun, the women and children fled, and would not be pacified until he desisted, and their friendly dispositions made known by the interpreters.

Upon the arrival of Massasoiet, they saluted him by discharging their muskets, and he received them with much joy. They made known the purport of their embassy, and presented the chief with the coat and the chain which they had brought as presents, with which both he and his people were much delighted.

The chief gave them assurances of the continuance of his friendship, and of his desire of a lasting peace, and promised to prevent any further molestation on the part of his people, and to send seed corn to Patuxet as requested. After he had addressed the messengers, he addressed his own people, setting forth his authority over at least thirty places, and directing them to carry their furs to the English. This speech was received with great applause by the Indians.

* This name was applied to a large territory.

After smoking, he entered into conversation with the messengers, and entreated them to use their influence with the company to prevent the French from trading at Narragansett, whither it seems they had sometimes resorted, saying, 'it was King James's country, and he was King James's man.' He informed them that the Narragansetts were a strong people, lived compactly, and had suffered nothing from the plague.

The chief having been absent for some time previous to their arrival, no provisions were collected. His sleeping place was on a platform of plank raised a little above the ground, and covered with a thin mat; on this, the messengers, the chief and his wife, and two others, laid down, but the Englishmen unaccustomed to such rough lodgings, and to such companions, and annoyed by insects, gained but little repose.

On the next day many of the petty sachems came in accompanied by their men, who played at some of their games for skins and knives.

The only provisions of Massasoiet were two fish, which he caught after their arrival, and his guests amounted in number to forty, nevertheless, he importuned the messengers to tarry longer, but they being anxious to keep the sabbath at home, and being unable to sleep amidst the filth of the Indian cabins, and suffering from the want of food, made their excuses and departed, leaving the chief both grieved and ashamed that he could entertain them no better.

Squanto remained to collect articles for traffic, and Massasoiet despatched Tokamahamon to guide them to Plymouth, where they arrived in two days by the same route which they had already travelled.

In this favorable manner terminated the first embassy of the English to the natives.

The simple and unsophisticated aboriginals received the strangers into the bosom of their country, little apprehensive of the mighty consequences which would follow their establishment there, the loss of that country, and the extermination of their posterity.

As little did the colonists apprehend that they were to be amongst the founders of a mighty empire ; destined in two centuries, to become one of the greatest on earth ; that their dominion would be extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean ; that their posterity would become as numerous as the sands on the sea-shore ; that they were about to extend their laws, language, and religion, over a country almost equalling in extent the whole of Europe ; but ‘ the wisdom of the Almighty is past finding out.’

John Billington, a boy, having been lost in the woods, an inquiry was instituted amongst the natives, and Massasoiet sent word to the English that he was at Nauset. He had wandered about for five days, subsisting on berries, and then reached an Indian plantation, twenty miles south of Plymouth, called Manomet,* and from thence had been conveyed to the Nausites. The governor sent ten men in a shallop with Squanto and Tokamahamon to recover him.

Having anchored their shallop in the bay near the harbor of Cummaquid,† the Indians invited them on shore, and four of them remained in the boat as hostages for the safety of the English. Here they had an interview with the young sachem of the country, Iyanough,‡ who they

* In Sandwich.

† Barnstable Harbor.

‡ Sometimes called the sachem of Cummaquid, and sometimes of Mattakiest. This country being between the Harbors of Barnstable and Yarmouth.

found to be 'very personable, gentle, courteous, fair conditioned,' and hospitable, with little of the savage in his deportment or manners. Taking him with two of his followers into the shallop, they proceeded on their voyage to Nauset. Squanto was despatched to Aspinet, the sachem of Nauset, to demand the boy. Aspinet, accompanied with an hundred of his men, came down to the sea-side, and sending one of them to bear the boy through the water to the shallop, delivered him to the English decorated with beads, with which, in their kindness, they had almost covered him.

The sachem made his peace with the English, and the English performed an act of justice by making ample satisfaction for the corn which they had taken during the preceding year. They also presented the sachem and the Indian who had protected the boy with knives.

On their return they landed Iyanough at Cummaquid, and established a firm peace with the Indians of that region. The women sung and danced before their shallop, the men shewed them much kindness, and Iyanough, taking a bracelet from his arm, presented it to the English.

During this voyage, they learned news which gave them great uneasiness. The Nausites informed them that the Narragansetts had attacked Massasoiet, killed some of his men, and had taken him. The English at this time were much gratified by receiving another proof of attachment from the natives. Hobbomock, one of Massasoiet's chief captains, called in the Indian language Pine-se, a man of great valor, came to dwell with them, and continued faithfully devoted to their interests during his life, and rendered them many services.

Shortly after the return of the expedition from Nauset, the colonists learned that Corbitant, a petty sachem, with-

in the jurisdiction of Massasoiet,* who was suspected of an undue attachment to the Narragansetts, and of enmity to the English, was at Namasket, striving to disaffect the subjects of Massasoiet, and to incite them against the colonists ; speaking with great disdain of their power, and reviling Squanto for the part he took in establishing a peace between them and the sachems of Cummaquid and Nauset, and abusing Tokamahamon and Hobbomock because of their friendship for the strangers.

Anxious for the fate of their chief, Squanto and Hobbomock set out privately from Plymouth to ascertain his situation, and lodging at Namasket, they were discovered by Corbitant. He beset the hut where they were lodged, and threatened to put them to death. He seized Squanto and held a knife at his breast, but Hobbomock, being a man of great strength, escaped, and flying to Plymouth, informed governor Bradford that Squanto was killed. Upon hearing this, the governor assembled the whole company, (Aug. 13). After consultation in which the justice and necessity of protecting those natives who were friends to the colony, and on whom they relied altogether for intelligence, and the danger of a timid policy as it would invite attacks, was strongly urged, the company resolved to send out ten men to seize their foes in the night, and they directed them in case Squanto had been killed, to seize Corbitant and put him to death, and to bring his head to Plymouth, but to offer no injury to any unless they had been concerned in the murder of Squanto.

On the fourteenth of August, Capt. Standish, accompanied by Hobbomock and fourteen of the English, set out on this expedition, and after experiencing much incon-

* He resided in the ancient town of Swanzey, near Slades' ferry.

venience from rain, and losing their way, reached Corbitant's hut in the dead of the night, and attacked it. Three Indians, attempting to escape, were badly wounded. It was ascertained that Tokamahamon and Squanto had received no injury.

In the morning Standish marched into the middle of the village, and Hobbomock announced his intentions to the Indians; he breakfasted at Squanto's, where all those who were not hostile to the English, assembled, but Corbitant's faction fled.

The English declared that if Massasoiet was not returned unharmed from Narragansett, or if Corbitant should incite any insurrection against him, or should offer any violence to Squanto, Hobbomock, or any of the subjects of Massasoiet, they would pursue him to his utter ruin. Taking the three wounded Indians and accompanied by a great concourse of their friends, the English returned home.

The Indians were cured of their wounds, and sent home in safety.

A deputation was sent from the Island of Capawack* to solicit, and many sachems sought the friendship of the colonists.

The resolute conduct of the English intimidated the natives. Corbitant solicited the good offices of Massasoiet, (the report of whose captivity was a mistake,) to reconcile him to the English; and he, together with several other chiefs, came to Plymouth and subscribed the following paper.

‘ SEPTEMBER 13, ANNO. DOM. 1621.

‘ Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are underwritten, acknowledge ourselves to be the loyal

* Martha's Vineyard.

subjects of King James, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. In witness whereof and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names or marks, as followeth.⁹

OCQUAMEHUD,	NATTAWAHUNT,	QUADEQUINA.
CAUNACOME,	CORBITANT,	HUTTAMOIDEN,
OBBATINUA,	CHIKKATABAK,	APANNOW.

Even Caunonicus, the great sachem of the Narragansetts, despatched a messenger to the English for the purpose of establishing a peace.

The friendship of Massasoiet, and his influence over the petty sachems in his vicinity, contributed much to the security and peace of the settlers.

Massasoiet had signed an instrument, which he gave to Standish, in which he also acknowledged himself to be the subject of King James.

But there was another cause which lay deep in human nature, which saved the English. The Indians were overawed by a prediction which induced them to believe that the English were protected by a power with whom they were unable to contend, and many remarkable and striking coincidences, and an almost literal fulfilment of the prediction had intimidated them, and abated their native fierceness. They deemed it important to conciliate those who were the special favorites of a being who was mighty to save or to destroy, that they might prevent, or at least delay their impending ruin.

A French ship had been wrecked on Cape Cod; the crew escaped, and saved their provisions and cargo. They were watched by the Indians until a favorable opportunity occurred, when they fell upon the Frenchmen and slaugh-

tered all except three, whom they preserved, but treated with extreme cruelty. Two of these Frenchmen were ransomed by Mr Dermer, one of the company of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

The other Frenchman lived amongst them until he had acquired their language. He told them 'that God was angry with them for their wickedness, and would destroy them, and give their country to another people, that they should not live like beasts as they did, but should be clothed, &c.' But they derided him, saying 'that they were so many that God could not kill them.' His answer was 'that though they were never so many, God had many ways to destroy them that they knew not.'

Shortly after the death of this Frenchman, the pestilence depopulated their country, the arrival of the English soon following, they remembered the words of the Frenchman, and believed them to have been dictated by divine influence. Of this prediction the planters were informed by many aged Indians.

To avert the calamities with which they were threatened, the Indians assembled in a dark swamp, and their powaws or priests continued their incantations for three days, during which the English were solemnly cursed and devoted to destruction, but the tide of fate rolled on, and the existence of the prophecy was one of the causes of its fulfilment.

Although the colonists had heard much of the threats of the Massachusetts, yet the governor and the company determined that the bay on which the Massachusetts dwelt should be explored, the situation and circumstances of the country ascertained, and a friendly intercourse and trade established with the natives if practicable.

For this purpose, on the eighteenth of September, the governor despatched ten men in the shallop, together with Squanto and two other Indians. On the next day, the shallop came to anchor under a cliff,* at the bottom of the bay, and twenty leagues distant from Plymouth. The sachem of this place was Obatinewa, one of those who had subscribed the submission a few days previous. Although he dwelt out of the country, which is supposed to have been the peculiar domain of Massasoiet, yet he acknowledged him as his superior chief. Obatinewa treated the English with much kindness, but he was in such great alarm that he dared not remain long in any place, being in constant fear of the Tarratines, a nation of Indians who dwelt far east, and whose usage it was to attack the Indians living around the bay at the time of the harvest and to despoil them of their corn. He was also in much apprehension of the squaw sachem or chieftainness of the Massachusetts.

He renewed his submission to the English, and he was assured of protection.

After crossing this bay which was filled with delightful islands, all without inhabitants, but with the vestiges of former habitations, the English landed on the continent, and ventured a few miles into the country. This was in the neighborhood of a place where Nanepashemet, a chief of much note, had formerly lived; he had been slain in a predatory incursion of the Tarratines. In a small vale he had built a fort, which he had surrounded with a palisade of the height of thirty or forty feet, encircled with a trench, breast deep. In the midst of this enclosure was a frame under which he was buried. A similar frame was

* Supposed by Dr Belknap to be Copp's Hill in the north part of Boston.

placed as a monument on the highest part of the hill where he was killed.

The natives, although fearful at first, soon became familiar with the English, and entertained them hospitably. A traffic was commenced and finished satisfactorily, and the shallop, with a considerable number of beaver skins, returned in safety to Plymouth.

The report of the shallop's crew was so favorable respecting the country of the Massachusetts, that the colonists regretted that they had not been seated there, although there had been no want of provisions through the summer, and a successful traffic had been opened with the natives;—fishing was good both for cod and bass; the harvest was gathered; water-fowl abounded; the forest was filled with deer and wild turkeys; the houses were well prepared to resist the inclemency of the winter, and the people were in perfect health, and under no apprehensions of want.

On the 9th of November a vessel arrived at Cape Cod, which the colonists mistook at first for a Frenchman, but were much relieved on finding it was the *Fortune* of fifty-five tons burthen, bringing Mr Cushman and thirtyfive more passengers,* who intended to remain at the plantation.

* The following persons came in the *Fortune*.

Robert Cushman,
William Hilton,
John Winslow,
William Coner,
John Adams,
William Tench,
John Cannon,
William Wright,
William Pitt,

Robert Hiekes,
Thomas Prence, (Prince, afterwards
Governor,)
Stephen Dean,
Moses Simonson (Simmons,)
Philip De La Noye (Delano,)
Edward Bompasse (Bumpus and Bump,)
Clement Briggs (Briggs,)
James Steward (Stewart.)

This vessel had sailed from London early in July, but did not clear the English channel before the end of August. Nearly all the provisions had been consumed in this long voyage, and the colonists were obliged to provision her for the homeward voyage, which they did, much to their own inconvenience.

The *Fortune* sailed on the thirteenth of December with a full cargo of beaver, boards, &c. Mr Cushman returned to give the adventurers full information as to the state of the colony, but the vessel was unfortunately captured and plundered by the French on her homeward passage.

After her departure, the governor and his assistant distributed the new comers amongst the several families, and having ascertained that all the provisions would barely subsist them for three months on full allowance, the whole company were reduced to half allowance, and to this privation they submitted with the greatest cheerfulness.

Mr Cushman was the bearer of a letter from Weston to Governor Carver, in which he wrote, 'we have procured a charter the best we could, better than your former, and with less limitations.' At this time they had built seven dwelling houses, (four, for the use of the plantation,) and had gathered the materials for several others.

Early in the following year, (1622) the Narragansetts learning that the vessel which had lately departed had brought neither provision nor arms, began to threaten the

William Palmer, (probably two in his family,)
Jonathan Brewster,
Bennet Morgan,
Thomas Flavell and his Son,
Hugh Statie (Stacy),
William Beale,

Thomas Cushman,
Austin Nicolas (Nicholas),
Widow Foord (probably four in her family),
Thomas Morton,
William Bassite (Bassett, two probably in his family.)

colonists with hostilities, so open were they in their boasts that the English received from the neighboring Indians constant intelligence of their threats and preparations.

At length their chiefsachem, Caunonicus, sent a herald, who, after inquiring for Squanto, (who was absent,) left a bundle of arrows, enclosed in a rattlesnake's skin. When Squanto returned he explained the meaning of the emblematic message. It imported enmity, and was in fact a challenge.

The governor after consulting the settlers despatched an Indian with an emblematic answer of equal significance, for he stuffed the skin with gunpowder and bullets, and returned it to Caunonicus, assuring him also by the mouth of his interpreter, that if he had shipping he would not trouble him to come so far as Plymouth to gratify his wish for fighting, but would have sought him in his own country; and he further assured him that whenever he did come he should be prepared to receive him.

This resolute message intimidated the sachem. Fearful of injury, he refused to touch the skin, neither would he suffer it to remain in his house. It passed about through several hands, and at length was returned to the English unopened.

Apprehensive of hostilities, the settlers resolved to impale the town; this was effected during the month of February.—They also enclosed a part of the hill, and made four bulwarks or jetties without the pale. In three of these bulwarks there were gates which were kept locked at night, and watch and ward was kept through the day. The ground which they enclosed was enough to supply a garden for each family.

The governor and captain then divided the whole force into four squadrons, and appointed a commander to

each, assigned their posts, at which they directed each squadron, (in case of alarm) to station itself. During the absence of the captain, the captains of the squadrons were to command.

After completing the arrangement, each commander drew off his command to the post which had been assigned to him, and after a salute, the commanders were escorted by their several companies to their respective houses, where they were again saluted in a military manner.

One of the companies was directed to attend particularly to fires, to surround any building which should be on fire, and facing outwards repel any treacherous attempt with their arms, while others who were designated for the purpose, should extinguish the fires.

In making these arrangements, Standish had the principal share. Every precaution was taken by this wise and valiant commander, (who had been a soldier by profession, and had served in the wars of the Low Countries,) to preserve the safety and existence of this feeble colony.

He made these pious and austere pilgrims attentive even to the forms of military etiquette, for he well knew that the cultivation of a martial spirit was their only safeguard against the dangers with which they were surrounded.

All the colonists had followed peaceful occupations. Standish was the only soldier amongst them;—the task therefore fell upon him, to form them to habits of discipline and watchfulness, and to teach them to rely in some degree upon human means for their preservation.

Another expedition being about to proceed on another trading voyage to the Massachusetts, Hobbomock endea-

vored to excite their apprehensions respecting a confederacy between the Massachusetts and the Narragansetts, and represented to them that by dividing their force all might be in danger of being destroyed,—that Standish, who had the charge of the trading expedition and his company, might be destroyed by the Massachusetts; and that the Narragansetts might, in his absence, attack the town with superior numbers, and destroy it; and he intimated that Squanto was in the plot, and would endeavor to entice Standish's men from the shallop to the Indian huts, where they could be destroyed with more ease.

Notwithstanding this alarming information, Standish resolved to proceed, and taking Hobbomock and Squanto and ten others, he set sail.

After they had weathered the point of the harbor called the Gurnet's nose, being becalmed, they anchored; while at anchor, an Indian of Squanto's family, with his face covered with blood, ran into the town in apparent alarm, (frequently looking behind him as though he was pursued, and calling upon the people who were in the fields to return home,) and informed the governor that there were many Narragansetts, together with Massasoiet and Corbitant and many others at Namasket, who were determined to assault the town in the absence of Standish, and that he had been wounded for speaking in behalf of the English, and escaped death by flight.

This information induced the governor to order the ordnance, which consisted of three pieces, to be discharged; the report being heard by Standish and the crew of the shallop, they immediately returned.

As soon as Hobbomock had ascertained the cause of the alarm, he positively denied Massasoiet's participation in the design, and assured the English that he would never have

undertaken an enterprise of such importance without consulting his captains, of whom he was one.

The governor prevailed upon Hobbomock to send his wife privately to Pokanoket, and without discovering her errand to Massasoiet or any one else, to ascertain the truth. Finding all things tranquil, she informed Massasoiet of the alarm at Plymouth, and he was excessively incensed against Squanto, but he sent his thanks to the governor when he learned that his good opinion of him had not been shaken, and he directed the Squaw to assure the governor that he should faithfully adhere to the terms of the treaty, and would give him instant information of any plot which should come to his knowledge. The English suspected that Squanto's main object was to magnify himself in the eyes of his countrymen, by inducing them to believe that he had a controlling influence in their councils, and that he held in his own hand the power of war, or of peace, and they heard of his practices to obtain gifts by giving private information to the natives that they intended to kill them but that he could prevent it, in consequence of which he deluded many. Some held him in more estimation than their own sachems, and even the followers of Massasoiet began to fall off, and to rely on Squanto for protection. It was, perhaps, after all, but natural for Squanto who does not seem to have possessed much influence with the natives at the time of the arrival of the English, to endeavor to make the most of their favor. His knowledge of the English language gave him a decided advantage over all others. His own small tribe had been exterminated by the plague. He was a solitary man, unaided by the influence or favor of kindred, and he only used the means which fortune had placed in his hands to acquire wealth, consideration and influence. Another of his devices to magnify the power of the English, and,

consequently, his own, was to persuade the natives that the English had buried the plague in their storehouse, and that they could loose it at will and ravage the whole country. The apprehension of this kept the Indians in great fear. The ground being broken in the store house in the presence both of Hobbomock and Squanto, and some barrels containing gunpowder being disclosed, Hobbomock naturally inquired of Squanto what they were? He answered without hesitation that this was the place where the plague was buried, of which, he had formerly told him and others. Hobbomock inquired of an Englishman if it was so, but he undeceived him, informing him at the same time that the God of the English possessed it, and could use it for the destruction of his own enemies and the enemies of the English.

The Indians were also undeceived as to the extent of Squanto's influence, the English assuring them of their friendly disposition, and that such reports could only originate with those who were liars, and who meant to excite disturbances. They were pacified by these assurances, but Squanto's duplicity was resented so much, particularly by Massasoiet, that after his departure from Plymouth, whither he had gone to justify himself, a messenger was sent to the governor to entreat him to put Squanto to death; the governor admitted that he deserved death, yet he was anxious that his life should be spared for the sake both of the English and the Indians, for without him they could scarcely hold any intercourse, as no other person had a knowledge of both languages.

Massasoiet was not satisfied, but sent several messengers to demand that Squanto should be given up, as he was his subject, according to the terms of the treaty.

So anxious was he to get Squanto into his hands, that he offered the governor many beaver skins. With his

messengers the chief sent his own knife for the avowed purpose of cutting off Squanto's head and hands, but the governor disdaining to sell his life, refused the present, although he assured the messengers that Squanto had justly forfeited it by his falsehood and deceit.

He however sent for Squanto, who readily yielded himself, and submitted his life without the least apparent reluctance to the will of the governor, but he charged Hobbomock with being the author of his ruin.

The governor with much reluctance at length determined to yield him to the executioners of Massasoiet, but at the moment, a boat appearing in the bay, and an alarm being given that the French were approaching, and the governor being uncertain as to the extent of the connection between the French and the Indians, refused to deliver Squanto into the hands of the messengers until he had ascertained the character of the crew who were in the boat; and they being angered at his reluctance and delay, departed in a great rage.

The boat however proved to be the shallop belonging to a ship of Thomas Weston's, called the Sparrow, who had been fishing near Munhiggon,* and they learned that there were forty sail of English vessels engaged in fishing. The governor despatched Edward Winslow to purchase provisions of these fishermen, who being poorly supplied, refused to sell any, but generously gave them enough for their immediate necessity, but not sufficient for all their wants. Captain John Huddleston deserves to be mentioned on this occasion for his great generosity. The supply was opportune; the colony was entirely destitute of bread, and they obtained sufficient to supply each person with a quarter of a pound daily until the harvest.

* Near Penobscot.

The sea-fowl frequented their waters during the winter, the latter part of autumn, and the early part of the spring only, and it was now summer.

The colonists were unprovided with fishing gear. They had been compelled to live upon clams and other shell fish, which they found in the sands, and they were excessively debilitated from the want of food. The Indians discovered their weakness, and meditated their destruction, and boasted how easily they could effect it. Their designs came to the knowledge of the settlers, and their fears were heightened by news which they learned from captain Huddleston, of a horrible massacre which had been perpetrated by the natives upon the English, in Virginia.

Induced by these circumstances, they set about the erection of a fortification, which was placed on a hill back of the town, and although they were obliged to neglect their agriculture, they completed the fort, building it strongly of timber, with a flat roof and battlements; on this roof they mounted the ordnance and kept constant watch. The lower part served them for a meeting house or place of worship.

Such was the character of these times, and of these men. The temple of the Lord was defended by cannon, and his worshippers were armed men; they held the sword in one hand and the bible in the other.

Previous to this time, they had made another trading voyage to the Massachusetts, and met with good success.

They planted sixty acres to corn, and their gardens were filled with vegetables; their numbers amounted to an hundred, free from sickness, but much debilitated.

About midsummer two ships arrived called the Charity and the Swan, which were sent out by Weston (who had obtained a patent from the adventurers,) to commence a

plantation ; and he had sent over at his own charge fifty or sixty idle and profligate persons to undertake an enterprise which could only succeed under the management of men who were adventurous, industrious, sober, sagacious, and hardy ; and who were willing to submit to every privation.

This rabble were treated kindly and courteously by the colonists, and to requite them, they wasted their provisions, and committed numberless thefts, taking in the night, their green and growing corn, and assisting them but little in its culture.

The Charity soon sailed for Virginia.

Weston's company sent out an exploring party, who soon returned and reported in favor of a place called Wessagusset* or Wessaguscus, on the Massachusetts Bay. To this place they soon repaired, (much to the joy of the Plymouth people,) leaving their sick behind, who were soon cured without charge by Mr Fuller, the physician and surgeon of the settlement, and they joined the company at Wessagusset.

The settlers at Wessagusset soon excited the enmity of the neighboring Indians by the profligacy of their carriage, and their frequent thefts.

Complaint was made of their outrages to the governor of Plymouth, who endeavored to prevent the evil by frequent admonitions, but without much effect.

About the latter part of the month of August, two other ships came into the harbor, one of which was called the Discovery, and was commanded by Capt. Jones, the former commander of the May Flower. The other was Weston's vessel, the Sparrow, which had completed her fishing voyage.

* Now Weymouth.

Captain Jones supplied the settlers with some articles, such as they could exchange with the natives for provisions. Their crop of corn proved so scanty, partly in consequence of their inability through weakness from the want of food to attend to its culture, and the pressure of other business, and partly from the depredations of Weston's company, that they were in danger of famine. Jones took an ungenerous advantage of their necessities, and compelled them to pay the most exorbitant prices.

John Porey, who had been secretary of the Virginia Colony, and was about to return home, was a passenger in the *Charity*, and from personal observation he was induced to represent the colony so favorably in England, that it acquired new and powerful friends.

The *Charity* returned to England about the end of September, but the *Sparrow* was retained at Wessagusset.

The planters at Wessagusset having wasted their provisions; fearful of approaching want, and hearing that the Plymouth people had purchased many articles of Jones for the purpose of traffic, desired to enter into co-partnership with them and offered their small vessel for that service. Their object was to purchase corn from the Indians. An agreement was made between them and the governor of Plymouth and his assistant, but they were delayed by the death of Richard Green, the brother-in-law of Weston, who had charge of the colony at Wessagusset, and who died suddenly at Plymouth. They intended to visit the south side of Cape Cod, and took Squanto, (who had now reconciled himself to Massasoiet,) for a pilot, he pretending that he could pilot them within the shoals. Captain Standish was to have commanded the expedition, but being driven back twice by violent winds, and falling ill of a fever, governor Bradford took the command himself, and after encountering some hazard from the shoals,

he made for a harbor at a place called Mannamoyek,* and after sounding through a narrow and intricate channel, anchored. The governor, attended by Squanto, went on shore, but the natives were shy of intercourse for some time, at length, understanding his intentions, they threw off their reserve, and welcomed him with much apparent joy, feasting him and his company on venison and other food,—yet so jealous were they when they ascertained that the governor intended to remain on shore during the night, that they carefully removed their property from their habitations. Squanto having succeeded in persuading them that the intentions of the English were good, they were at length induced to sell them eight hogsheads of corn and beans.

They intended to have proceeded farther down the Cape, being assured both by Squanto and the Indians of Mannamoyek that there was a safe passage, but their design was frustrated by the sudden sickness of Squanto, who was seized with a fever so violent, that it soon occasioned his death, to the great grief of the Governor.

Although Squanto had discovered some traits of duplicity, yet his loss was justly deemed a public misfortune, as he had rendered the English much service. A short time previous to his death, he requested the governor to pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven, and he bequeathed his little property to his English friends as remembrances of his love.

The Indians of Massachusetts having promised the English to plant corn abundantly for the purpose of traffic; when the wind came fair, the governor sailed down the bay, and reaching the place of his destination, he had the

* Now Chatham.

misfortune to find most of the Indians afflicted with a deadly disorder, not unlike the plague.

Such had been the folly and improvidence of Weston's people in trafficking with them, that a quart of corn was estimated as high as a beaver skin, and so imprudent and vicious had been their conduct, that the affections of the natives were totally alienated.

Finding no prospect of trading to any advantage, they sailed for Nauset, where they were received with much kindness, and purchased eight or ten hogsheads of corn and beans, and proceeding to Mattachiest, obtained more.

During this expedition they suffered much from violent storms. The ship was in danger and the shallop was cast away; they had no means of getting the corn on board the ship, as she could not ride in much less distance than two leagues from the shore, and the ship's boat was too small and leaky for that purpose.

The governor caused the corn to be stacked, covered it with mats and sedge, and entrusted it to the keeping of the natives, promising a reward to him who dwelt nearest to it for attending to its safety. The Indian undertook the trust, and the sachem assured his fidelity. The shallop being found almost buried in the sand, but containing articles of little value for present purposes, was put under the care of the sachem.

The governor then procured a guide, and set out on foot for Plymouth. He was treated with much respect by all the natives whom he met in his journey, and arrived in safety, after travelling fifty miles. The vessel arrived a few days after. The corn being divided, Weston's company went to their own plantation, promising to return soon with their carpenter, (whose services were wanted at

Plymouth,) to bring away the corn which had been stacked, and to recover the shallop.

At their return, Captain Standish having recovered his health, took the command of another shallop and went with them to Nauset, where the corn was found, undisturbed. Having repaired the shallop which had been wrecked, they got all the corn on board.

While at Nauset an Indian having stolen a few beads and other trifles from one of the shallops, complaint was made to the sachem, accompanied by many threats if the stolen articles were not returned. The sachem soon restored the articles, and informed the captain that he had severely beaten the thief. He grieved much that such an act should have been committed, and the women were required to make bread and to carry it to the English to pacify them.

They then returned to Plymouth, and the corn was equally divided. After this the governor with some attendants went to Namasket to secure another supply, in which he succeeded.

The governor then visited Manomet,* a place which was governed by Canaucum, one of the subscribers to the act of submission, by whom he was kindly received. While he was there an incident occurred which not only served to show the respect and consideration in which Canaucum was holden, but is peculiarly illustrative of the Indian character. Two Indians of Monamoyek came into the sachem's wigwam in a night of excessive coldness. Having laid aside their bows and quivers, they sat down at the fire without uttering a word, and began to smoke; their pipes being finished, one of them addressed Canaucum in a short speech, and presented him with a basket of

* The part of Sandwich which lies on Manomet river.

tobacco, and some beads. He then delivered a long speech, which Hobbomock, who attended the governor, interpreted to him.

The Indians are almost without exception desperate gamblers, staking (when pushed) the clothes on their backs, and even their wives' clothes, and literally stripping themselves naked to satisfy the winner. This desperate spirit of gambling, was sometimes productive of fatal consequences.

Two of the tribe to which the messengers belonged, quarrelled, while gaming, and one killed the other. The murderer was a powaw or priest, a man of great distinction and of much use in his own community, but another tribe of great power had threatened them with war, unless they would put the offender to death. He had been imprisoned and the sachem was in great doubt as to the course which it was proper for him to pursue, and anxiously desired the advice of Canaucum. After a long silence, the opinions of those who were present were taken, and Canaucum also requested the advice of Hobbomock, who answered 'that he was a stranger to them, but thought it better that one should die than many, since he had deserved it, and the rest were innocent.' Canaucum then directed the messengers to tell their sachem, that in his opinion the murderer should be put to death.

In February (1623) an Indian came to Plymouth with a letter from John Sanders, (who had the charge of Weston's plantation,) representing the great distress into which the planters had fallen. They had exhausted their provisions and could borrow no corn from the natives, and were near starving, and he requested the governor to advise him whether he might take the corn from the Indians by force to relieve his starving men, but the governor strongly dissuaded him from such a course; he advised him of the

danger to which both plantations might be exposed in consequence of the just exasperation of the natives, that the constant depredations upon their corn had already incensed them, and that the people of Wessagusset could subsist themselves as the Plymouth people had frequently done on shell fish, and ground nuts.

So totally destitute of good faith were these wretched men to each other, that some of them informed the Indians that their corn was about to be taken from them by force. This information was the cause of a conspiracy which came near being general amongst the Indians against both settlements.

Upon the reception of the governor's letter, Sanders went to Plymouth, and the governor spared him a small quantity of corn from the small stock of the colony. He then set sail in a shallop for Monhiggon,* to procure farther supplies, being wholly ignorant of the conspiracy of the Indians.

His company in the meantime fell into great straits ; many sold their bed coverings and even their clothes ; some were so debased, that for the sake of a little food, they became servants to the Indians, cutting their wood, and carrying their water.—Some subsisted altogether by stealing from them.—Some died of hunger, and one, in consequence of his extreme weakness, was unable to extricate himself from the mud where he was gathering clams, and perished. Most of them abandoned their dwellings, and wandered up and down by the sea-shore, and in the woods, gathering clams and ground nuts.—One became a savage, abandoned his company and joined himself to the natives. So miserable and contemptible had they become, that when their food was prepared

* A plantation of Sir Ferdinand Gorges in Maine, near Penobscot.

the Indians would take it from them and eat it before their eyes:—they would seize their blankets when they had lain down, to rest, and leave them to encounter the cold air naked. They even hung one of the company to satisfy the Indians on account of some thefts.*

One of them by the name of Phineas Pratt, became so much alarmed for the probable fate of the whole, that he abandoned them, and without any knowledge of the way, wandered through the woods until he reached the plantation at Plymouth in safety, although his absence was noticed, and he was pursued by two Indians.

* See Hudibras.

The Plymouth people had nothing to do with the transaction, the execution took place among Weston's company. Prince 212. inslan in I. M. H. C. VIII. 268. Belknap. Big. II. 315.

CHAPTER VII.

Expedition of Standish against the Indians of Wessagusset.—Its success.—Weston's Plantation broken up and abandoned.—Proofs of the Conspiracy of the Indians.—Journey of Edward Winslow and John Hampden to Visit Massasoiet.—Distress of the Indians, and their submission.—Weston comes over.—His misfortunes.—Quarrels with Gorges.—His injustice to Plymouth.

ON the day preceding the arrival of Pratt, the yearly court had been convened.

The governor, unwilling to make war on his own responsibility, laid before the whole assembled company the circumstances which induced him to suppose that the Indians contemplated hostilities.

It was resolved by the company, that Captain Standish should take with him as many men as he deemed to be necessary for encountering all the Indians in the Massachusetts Bay:—that he should conceal his intentions and pretend to trade as usual, but should disclose his design to Weston's people, and secure Watawamat, a bold and bloody warrior, and bring home his head, (his hostile intentions being well known.) Such were the instructions to Standish; whereupon he made choice of eight men, refusing to take more, although many more were willing to go;—but he thought this small force would excite no jealousy.

The information brought by Pratt was of such a nature, that Standish was induced to proceed to Wessagusset without delay. On his arrival, he found the ship empty,

but upon discharging a musket, the captain and some others, who had been gathering ground-nuts, shewed themselves.

Standish reproved them severely for their carelessness, but they seemed to be under no apprehensions of the Indians, informing him that they lived and lodged with them without arms. Upon ascertaining that the men to whom Sanders had committed the charge of the colony, and who were most in his confidence were at the plantation, he went thither and disclosed his design, laying before them the proofs of the conspiracy, but telling them that if they could devise any other mode to secure their own safety, he would assist them with all his force.

Upon comparing his intelligence with circumstances which came within their own knowledge, they were convinced, and wondered much that they had escaped destruction so long. Standish enjoining strict secrecy, caused them to call all the company into the town, and ordered a pint of corn to be issued to each man daily, although it was taken from the seed corn of the Plymouth people.

An Indian soon came to him with furs, under pretence of trading, but although the captain maintained a calm demeanor, the Indian was not deceived. On his return to his own people, he reported of Standish that 'he saw by his eyes, that he was angry in his heart.' The Indians then began to suspect that they were discovered.

Pecksuot, a paniese or warrior, a man of great courage, told Hobbomock 'that he understood the captain was come to kill him and the rest of the Indians there.' 'Tell him, (said he,) we know it, but fear him not, neither will we shun him, but let him begin when he dare, he will not take us unawares.' Many of the Indians would sharpen their knives before the captain's face, and insult him both in speech and gesture. Wittawamut boasted of the excel-

lence of his knife. 'On the end of the handle there was pictured a woman's face; but, said he, I have another at home, wherewith I have killed both French and English, and that hath a man's face on it; and by and by these two must marry.' Further he said of his knife, 'by and by it should see, and by and by it should eat, but not speak.'

Standish was small of stature; Pecksuot, who was very large, told him 'though he were a great captain yet he was but a little man; and, (said he,) though I be no sachem, yet I am a man of great strength and courage.' The temper of Standish was fiery, but he bore these insults with much patience. On the next day, Pecksuot, Wittawamut, another Indian, and Wittawamut's brother, a youth of eighteen, whose deportment had been insulting in the extreme, being together, Standish having an equal number of his own men in the same room, gave the signal. The door being fastened, he snatched the knife which Pecksuot wore about his neck, and after a horrible struggle, succeeded in despatching him by plunging it into his bosom. Wittawamut and the other Indian were killed. The brother of Wittawamut was taken, and afterwards hanged. The Indians died with great courage, scarcely uttering a sound, and defending themselves to the last.

During the contest, Hobbomock stood by without interfering, apparently observing the conduct of the English. After it had terminated, he addressed Standish; 'yesterday, Pecksuot, bragging of his own strength and stature, said, though you were a great captain, yet you were but a little man; but to day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground.'

Two more Indians were killed by the others. Another was killed at another place by the Plymouth party, and one escaped to his countrymen with the news.

The captured Indian women were placed in the custody of Weston's people.

Standish taking one half of his men, and one or two of Weston's, went out in pursuit of the Indians. He soon discovered a company of them advancing in single file. A small hill lay between them and the English, which both parties strove to obtain. Standish succeeded. The Indians retreated, and sheltering themselves behind trees, began to shoot arrows, aiming principally at Hobbomock and the commander. Hobbomock instantly cast off his coat and ran towards them. His prowess being well known, they fled from him, and the English could scarcely keep pace with him in the pursuit. One of the Indians aiming at Standish, he, and one of his men firing at the same time, broke his arm, and the natives then fled into a swamp. The English attempted to parley, but received nothing but abuse. Standish challenged the sachem to a single combat, but he refused and fled:— Standish and his party then returned to the plantation, and released the women, refusing to take their beaver coats, and offering them no insult.

Weston's people came to the determination to abandon their plantation, and to go to Munhiggon which was the resort of the fishing ships, in which, they expected to obtain a passage to England.

Standish told them that he should have no fear in residing there with less men than they had; yet if they chose to go, he was ordered by the governor and people of Plymouth to supply them with sufficient corn for their subsistence until they could reach the fishing ships, and he gave them nearly his whole store. Some of them who were unwilling to go to Munhiggon he took with him to Plymouth, and after seeing the others under sail, and clear

of the bay, he returned, bearing the head of Wittawamut, which he placed on the Fort.

Such was the miserable termination of the second attempt of the English to colonize New England. The cause of the disasters of the Wessagusset and the success of the Plymouth plantation, may be traced to the different characters of the settlers of each.

The first had no object but to gain subsistence with little trouble, and were destitute alike of morals and religion. The last were animated by higher motives, motives which taught them self-denial, patience, justice, fortitude, and all the hardier virtues. The first sought only to gratify their animal wants, and animal pleasures; the object of the last was to rear the church of Christ in the wilderness, and to maintain the freedom of their religious opinions at all hazards.

Much obloquy has been thrown on the characters of the Pilgrims for this attack upon the Indians. The existence of the conspiracy is said to have been ideal, and it is confidently asserted in modern times that the Indians were disposed to friendship when they were assailed by Standish, and that the conspiracy was a mere pretence on the part of the English to rid themselves of troublesome neighbors, and to acquire their country; but any one who examines the proofs with impartiality will be convinced of its existence, and that the colonists were actuated neither by interest nor revenge, but only endeavored to secure their own safety by attacking those, who, when their projects were matured, would have destroyed them.

To shew this more clearly, it will be necessary to recur to a period anterior to the expedition of Captain Standish to Wessagusset.

In the month of February, (1623,) Standish had been despatched with a shallop to Mattachiest; the Indians received him with apparent kindness, and promised him a considerable quantity of corn. A storm came on, and the harbor was filled with ice, and he was compelled to remain on shore through the night. The number of the savages who were assembled at the place where he staid was so great, that he suspected their intentions to be hostile, and ordered his men to keep an alternate watch.

An Indian stole some beads. Standish, who had but six men, invested Iyanough's hut, (in which nearly all the Indians were collected,) threatening to attack them if the beads were not restored. The sachem, discovering the thief, sent him secretly to the shallop with them;— he laid them on the cuddy; Standish was then desired to search the boat where he found them.

The resolute conduct of Standish intimidated the Indians so much, that they were fearful of attempting anything against him at that time, but endeavored to appease him by bringing more corn for traffic than had been promised. From this time, however, the Indians were watched and suspected.

In the following month of March, Standish went to Manomet to bring away some corn which governor Bradford had previously purchased. He was coldly received. He was at Canaucum's hut at some distance from his boat, and only two or three of his own men with him. Two Massachusetts Indians came into the hut, one of whom was Wittawamut, whose fate has been already related, who boasted of his having killed both French and English, 'and derided their weakness, especially because, as he said, they died crying, making sour faces, more like children than men.'

Taking a dagger from his neck, he presented it to Canaucum, and addressed him in a long speech, in which he informed him that 'the Massachusetts formerly concluded to ruiuate Master Weston's colony; and thought themselves, being about thirty or forty men, strong enough to execute the same. Yet they durst not attempt it, till such time as they had gathered more strength to themselves, to make their party good against Plymouth; and although he had no other arguments to use against the Plymouth people, yet they would never leave the death of their countrymen unrevenged; and therefore their safety could not be without the overthrow of both plantations. To this end they had formerly solicited this sachem, as also the other called Iyanough, at Mattachiest, and many others to assist them; and now again came to prosecute the same; and since there was so fair an opportunity offered by the Captain's presence, they thought best to make sure of him and his company.'

After Wittawamut had made this speech, he received much more consideration and attention than Standish; so great was the difference, that Standish was excessively indignant, (although he had not understood the purport of Wittawamut's speech, which was explained to him afterwards.)

The savages then endeavored to persuade him to send for the remainder of his boat's crew, which he refused, and engaged the Indian women to take his corn down to the boat.

An Indian of Paomet was present who had formerly professed great friendship for the English: he besought Standish with great importunity to lodge at his hut, making many professions and offering to assist in carrying the corn to the boat, a kind of labor which he said he had never performed for any one.

The weather was so excessively cold that Standish could not sleep but kept before the fire. The Indian urged him to sleep, but his anxiety kept him awake. It was afterwards discovered that this Indian intended to have killed him while he slept.

On the next day this Indian (of whom Standish had no suspicions) embarked with him, and urged him with much importunity to go to Paomet, promising to sell him his own corn and to procure other corn for him. Standish at length yielded to his solicitations, and put his boat about, but was forced back by a contrary wind, and returned to Plymouth, (fortunately for him) for had he reached Paomet, in all probability, he would have been taken off.

After the fight at Wessagusset, an Indian youth, (who had always appeared to be attached to the English,) notwithstanding the injuries which Standish had done his countrymen came to him without fear and confessed that it was the intention of the natives to have killed all Weston's people, and they waited merely for the finishing of a couple of canoes which they were building for them at that time.

Their Indian prisoner after viewing the head of Wittawamut with much emotion, confessed his knowledge of the plot, and informed them that the sachem Obtakiest had been drawn into it with much reluctance, having yielded to the importunity of his people against his own inclination. He also informed them that there were five who were mainly instrumental in devising the plot, amongst whom were Wittawamut and Pecksuot, the other three were powaws or priests, one of whom was wounded. He denied any personal participation in the conspiracy and affirmed that he was a stranger, and not one of the tribe. Hobbomock interceding for him he was released and

despatched with a message to Obtakiest of the following tenor;—‘that it never entered the hearts of the English to adopt such measures as they had pursued towards them until they were compelled thereto by their own treachery, and that if he persisted in his courses, they would drive him from his country, and utterly exterminate his people. They also required him to send to Pawtuxet, (Plymouth) three Englishmen whom he had taken, (being some of Weston’s company,) that he should do no injury to the paling or buildings at Wessagusset, and that the messenger should forthwith be sent back with the English, and with a satisfactory answer.’

But another circumstance proves the existence of the plot still more conclusively. News came to Plymouth that Massasoiet was sick, and would probably die, and that a Dutch ship had been stranded near his residence. As the Indians when sick expect visits from their friends, it was thought right by the governor to despatch Mr Winslow to visit Massasoiet once more, and to have a conference with the Dutch. He was selected for this service because he had once before been to Sowams, and had some knowledge of the Dutch language. Having provided himself with some cordials, and attended by Hobbomoek for a guide, and the celebrated John Hampden for a companion, (who was then sojourning at Plymouth, and who felt an anxious desire to see the country,) he set forth on his journey.*

The first night they lodged with their Indian friends at Namasket. The next day they came to a ferry in Corbi-

* When wandering about the woods of Pokanoket, or along the banks of Taunton river, or sleeping in Indian huts, little did Hampden dream of the fate which awaited him, little did he think that it was reserved for him to commence the overthrow of the British monarchy, and to shed his blood in the first daring attempt for a free constitution in England.

* This is an error. The patient Hampden was never in America. but another of the same name.

tant's country,* where they found many Indians and were informed that Massasoiet was dead, and was to be buried that day, and that the Dutch had hove their ship off, and were just about to sail.

Winslow was disconcerted at this news, and Hobbomock was anxious to return, but Winslow apprehending that Corbitant would probably succeed Massasoiet, and that he dwelt but about three miles off,† deemed it a duty to endeavor to propitiate him, although he was well aware of his hostility to the English. Yet he thought at that time he was interested to keep on good terms. Hampden and Hobbomock willingly consented to go although Hobbomock had reason to apprehend injury from the resentment of Corbitant.

On the way, Hobbomock vented his grief in speeches, exclaiming often, '*Neen womasu sagimus, neen womasu sagimus.*' My loving sachem, my loving sachem.

'Many have I known (said he,) but never any like thee. Whilst I live I shall never see his like amongst the Indians; he was no liar; he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians. In anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; ruled by reason in such measure as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians; and that he oftentimes restrained their malice.'

He continued to grieve and lament until they reached Corbitant's house; Corbitant was not there but had gone

* Now Slade's ferry in Somerset.

† At Mettapuyst, or Mettapoiset, a neck of land in Swansey, now called Gardner's neck.

to visit Massasoiet. Corbitant's wife entertained them with much kindness, and informed them that there was no certain news of Massasoiet's death, although it was supposed he was dead. Winslow hired an Indian to go to Pokanoket and to ascertain whether Massasoiet was dead or not, and to inform Corbitant that he was at his house.

The messenger soon returned, bringing news that Massasoiet was not dead, but there were no hopes of his recovery.

When Winslow and his companions reached the residence of Massasoiet they ascertained that the Dutch had sailed, and they found Massasoiet's hut surrounded with people, so that they had some difficulty to reach him. The powaws were in the midst of their incantations, and six or eight women were chafing him.

Massasoiet was apparently at his last extremity, his sight had failed, but when he learned that Winslow was present he desired him to come to him, exclaiming, '*Matta neen wonckanet namen, Winsnow!*' Oh Winslow I shall never see you again!

Winslow then desired Hobbomock to inform him that the governor was grieved at his sickness, and being unable to come himself, had despatched him with some things which would be serviceable, and taking some conserve on the point of a knife, he gave it to him:—it dissolved in his mouth, and he swallowed it, at which his attendants were greatly rejoiced inasmuch as he had not swallowed for two days. Winslow then washed his mouth which was excessively furred, and dissolving some of the conserve in water, the sachem drank it. A great alteration was soon wrought, and his sight returned. Winslow then prepared some broth from corn-meal, and mixing it with strawberry leaves, and sassafras root, gave it to him to drink; everything which was administered produced a favorable effect,

and these simple remedies left him free from the disorder which had brought him so near to death. He then requested Winslow to administer the like remedies to all the sick. Many had come to visit him who lived an hundred miles from his residence.

The gratitude of this simple hearted and honest sachem was unbounded. 'Now (said he) I see the English are my friends and love me; and whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness.' During their stay they were treated with the utmost kindness and attention. When they were about to depart, the sachem privately informed Hobbomock of the existence of the plot against Weston's colony; that the people of Nauset, Paomet, Succonet,* Mattachiest, Manomet, Agawam, and the Isle of Capawack, were in confederacy with the Massachusetts; that during his sickness he had been earnestly solicited to join them but he had refused, neither would he suffer any of his own tribe to engage in this conspiracy; that there was no way to avert the threatened danger unless the Massachusetts were attacked; that if the English regarded their own safety, they had better strike the first blow, for after the settlers at Wessagusset had been killed, it would be difficult for the Plymouth people to sustain themselves against so many enemies.

He earnestly counselled Hobbomock that the principals should be taken off without delay, and then the affair would be terminated. And he charged him to acquaint Winslow of the designs of these hostile Indians immediately, so that the governor might have early information thereof, which was done.

Winslow and Hampden departed from Sowams followed by the blessings of Massasoiet and all his people. Corbi-

* Falmouth.

tant urged them to remain with him one night at Metta-poiset, to which they consented, and he treated them with the most generous hospitality. They found him a shrewd politician, and a merry companion, delighting both to give jokes, and to take them, and extremely inquisitive as to the customs of the English. Among other things he inquired of Winslow whether if he should be sick the governor of Plymouth would send him *maskiet*, (physic) and whether he would come to see him; upon Winslow's answer in the affirmative, he expressed great joy, and gave him many thanks.

He inquired of Winslow how he dared to come with only one Englishman so far into the country; Winslow told him that as he was conscious of his own uprightness, he had no fear. He complained of the strict guard which was kept at Plymouth when the Indians visited there, and would not believe Winslow when he endeavored to persuade him that it was for his honor. Corbitant inquired into the reason of asking grace, and returning thanks, before and after eating; Winslow endeavored to impress his mind with the importance of gratitude to God for his goodness, and instructed him in the commandments.—Corbitant said the Indians believed almost the same things, and that the being which the English called God, the Indians called *Kichtan*.

In the morning the Englishmen departed highly pleased with Corbitant's treatment. The next night they lodged at Namasket, and then returned to Plymouth.

Here they found the Paomet Indian who had come with Standish still urging him to go to his country; but suspicion being now awakened, no credit was given to his professions, but he was sent away unharmed.

A reply was received from Obtakiest through a woman. He professed himself to be sorry that he could not restore

the Englishmen according to the demand of the governor, but they were killed previous to the reception of his message. That he was desirous of making peace with the English, but that neither he nor any of his men durst come near them to treat, but were daily wandering about from place to place, having from fear abandoned their dwellings.

Although the English never molested the other tribes which were believed to have conspired with the Massachusetts, yet intimidated by the prompt vengeance which they exercised on them, they also abandoned their dwellings, and concealed themselves in the swamps and other hiding places, and by living in this miserable manner contracted disorders which soon carried them off in great numbers. They planted but little corn, and famine was added to their other distresses.

Canaucum the sachem of Manomet, Aspinet the sachem of Nauset, and Iyanough the sachem of Mattachiest, soon died. Iyanough said 'that the God of the English was offended with them and would destroy them in his anger.'

To propitiate the governor and to obtain peace, a boat was despatched from one of these places with presents, but it was cast away, and three of the crew were drowned.

The spirit of the neighboring Indians was completely subdued, and no more attempts were made by them against the Plymouth colonists for more than fifty years.

The severity of their misfortunes was unquestionably caused originally by the vile and foolish conduct of Weston's company, who by provoking the Massachusetts to a just resentment, were the occasion of those wide spreading jealousies, which finally were nearly productive of a general combination amongst the tribes.

At the time of the expedition of Standish to Massachusetts, the enmity of the tribes to the English had not reached

the point of open hostility. Many were willing and ready to undertake a general enterprise for the extermination of the whites. Some doubted. Success or misfortune would probably have decided others. The English, however, could not have counted on the assistance of more than three or four tribes.—Had they not by this prompt proceeding destroyed the seeds of this combination in its germ, they would in all probability have been destroyed; the colonization of New England would have been delayed for many years, and the next attempt would probably have been made on the banks of the Hudson, but ‘the fulness of time had come,’ and the design of providence was fulfilled.

When the venerable and pious Robinson heard of these transactions, it grieved him to the heart, and in his letter to the governor he says, ‘Oh that you had converted some before you had killed any.’

Shortly after the departure of Weston’s company to the eastward, he came over himself in one of the fishing vessels in the disguise of a blacksmith; hearing of the ruin of his plantation, he was anxious to ascertain the actual situation of his property, but being wrecked, he barely escaped with his life, and falling into the hands of the Indians, was stripped of everything, even of his clothes and shirt. At length he reached Piscataqua,* where he borrowed some clothes, and went to Plymouth. Out of the small stock of the settlers, he borrowed one hundred and seventy pounds of beaver, he then reached his small vessel and began to build up his broken fortunes anew by traffic. He revisited Plymouth while Captain Robert Gorges, the son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was there, with whom he had a violent quarrel.—Gorges having called him to account

* Now Portsmouth.

for some abuses. With much difficulty Gov. Bradford reconciled them. Weston after going to the eastward again, revisited Plymouth, and soon sailed for Virginia. He never paid his debt to the Plymouth people, but maligned, and misrepresented them everywhere, and did them all the injury in his power.

CHAPTER VIII.

First Attempts to Settle New Hampshire.—John Peirce obtains an enlarged patent.—His Designs.—Sells his Patent to the Plymouth Company.—Arrival of Admiral West.—Division of Labor and the Abolition of a Community of Goods.—Colony threatened with famine.—Distress.—Drought.—Arrival of the Anne and Little James with passengers and supplies.—The Anne sails for England.—Edward Winslow goes out as Agent.—Arrival of Capt. Robert Gorges, and the Rev. Mr Morrell at Wessagusset.—Fire at Plymouth.—Governor Gorges returns to England, and the second attempt to settle Massachusetts fails.—Renewed by emigrants from Weymouth in England, and succeeds.—Wessagusset receives the name of Weymouth.—Settlement at Cape Anne.—Governor Bradford reelected against his inclination.—Return of Winslow.—First importation of Cattle.—John Lyford arrives.—Intrigues in England to prevent the removal of the remainder of Robinson's Church from Leyden.—An acre of land assigned to each settler in fee.—Intrigues of Lyford and Oldham discovered and punished.—Turbulence of Oldham.—Lyford and Oldham banished.—Roger Conant goes with them.—A part of the Company in England resent the conduct of the Colonists which is satisfactorily explained by Edward Winslow.

CAPTAIN JOHN MASON, who had been governor of Newfoundland, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and several other gentlemen in the West of England, obtained patents from the New England Council, which embraced several parts of North America. In the spring of 1623, they sent out David Thompson a Scotchman, Edward Hilton, and William Hilton, for the purpose of commencing a settlement. Thompson built a house on the west side of Piscataqua river, at a place called Piscataquack,* which he

* Now Portsmouth.

called Mason Hall. The Hiltons went up the river to Cocheco.* Some attempts were made this year to establish a settlement at Munhiggon.†

John Peirce, in whose name the first patent of Plymouth was taken, in trust, for the Company, finding that the settlement at New Plymouth was like to become permanent, obtained another patent of greater extent, which he intended to have reserved for himself, and to have compelled the settlers to hold of him as tenants, 'and to sue in his courts as chief lord.' On the 16th of October, 1622, he despatched the ship *Paragon* from London for New Plymouth with sixtyseven passengers, but the weather was so tempestuous and the ship so leaky, that in fourteen days she was compelled to return, after which she was delayed some time for repairs. She sailed again, (Dec. 22) with one hundred and nine passengers, amongst whom was Peirce himself; but the weather continuing unfavorable, and the ship being in great danger, there was a general determination to give over the voyage, and the ship arrived at Portsmouth, (England) about the middle of February, (1623.)

Discouraged by his losses and disappointments, Peirce was induced, for the sum of £500 to relinquish his patent, which had cost him but fifty. The goods, and the expense of the passengers amounted to £640. Another ship, called the *Anne*, was hired to transport the passengers, in which sixty embarked.

In the month of June, 1623, a ship commanded by Capt. Francis West, who had been appointed *Admiral of New England*, arrived at Plymouth. Capt. West had authority under his commission to prevent the officers and crews of all ships from trading or fishing without license,

* Now Dover.

† Near the Penobscot river.

the council for New England having determined that the privilege should be paid for, but he found the fishermen intractable to persuasion and fearless of force, and he sailed for Virginia. The owners of the fishing vessels complained to the Parliament, and obtained an order that the fishery should be made free.

Hitherto the colonists had held their property in common, and had cultivated the land without regard to any particular ownership, and the product was deposited in the common storehouse; but the overseers having nothing to bestow as a remuneration for labor, and some declining to work, as they were sure of support, the system was changed, and at a general meeting of the settlers in April, 1623, it was ordered that the land should be cultivated in severalty, and that the cultivator should have the product; all the young single men were assigned to some family; each family were to plant their own corn and depend on themselves for food; at the harvest a certain portion was to be set apart for those who were engaged in public business, and for the fishermen. Particular parcels of land were assigned to each family in proportion to its numbers, but for cultivation only; the land itself was not considered as private property, and could not be inherited. Stimulated by the prospect of enjoying the fruits of their own labors, the spirit of industry was excited amongst the settlers; the women and children wrought in the fields, and much more corn was planted than had been anticipated.

A people amongst whom a community of property exists, seldom become wealthy. The people of Plymouth soon realized the benefit of a system which put each individual on his own resources, and which, by increasing the individual, increased the general wealth. The character of man is such, that although under the excitement of

*The freedom of the fisheries had been restored, was
in the common, in 1621. It was again done in 1624,
but the bill, which put the brew house, never
became a law.*

enthusiasm, he may for a time be induced to labor for the public, yet the labor which is followed by no personal benefit soon becomes irksome, and his exertions relax, but self-love remains after enthusiasm has been chilled into indifference, or frozen into apathy.*

When the settlers had finished their planting, the store of provision was completely exhausted, and they were obliged to rely on the chance of a day for their daily food, but they sustained themselves under this new affliction with astonishing fortitude. They resorted to fishing, and were generally successful. When this resource failed they explored the woods for groundnuts, and the sea-shore for clams. Brewster, the ruling elder, lived for many months together without bread, and frequently on fish alone. With nothing but oysters and clams before him, he, with his family, would give thanks that they could 'suck of the abundance of the seas and of the treasures hid in the sands.' Whenever a deer was taken, it was divided amongst the whole company. It is said that they were once reduced to a pint of corn, which being equally divided, gave to each a proportion of five kernels, which was parched and eaten.† To complete their distresses a

* Two remarkable exceptions to these remarks exist in the United States, the Shakers and the Harmonists, who have established a community of goods. The shakers possess peculiarities so extraordinary, that ordinary maxims cannot with propriety be applied to them, and whenever the Harmonists shall cease to consider their pastor as a prophet, they will adopt the common usages of society.

† At the centennial feast at Plymouth, Dec. 22, 1820, much of the beauty, fashion, wealth, and talent of Massachusetts, had congregated at Plymouth. Orators spoke, and poets sang, the praises of their pilgrim fathers. The richest viands gratified the most fastidious epicure to satiety. Beside each plate five grains of parched corn were placed, a simple but interesting and affecting memorial of the distresses of those heroic and pious men who won this fair land of plenty, and freedom, and happiness, and yet at times were literally in want of a morsel of bread.

drought set in, of unexampled duration, having continued from the third week in May until the middle of July. The face of the earth was as ashes, and the corn was withering. Hobbomock was much afflicted at the situation of the English, fearing that the drought would bring starvation on the colony. ‘As for the Indians, (said he) they can shift better than the English, for they can get fish to help themselves.’ According to their custom, the colonists ordered a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer, in which the aid of the Lord to send them rain was most sincerely and fervently invoked. The morning of the day was clear and unclouded, and the heat was intense, but before night the clouds began to gather, and the rain descended in copious and gentle showers, refreshing the whole face of the earth.

The Indians who knew of their design to invoke the divine favor, were in utter astonishment, and Hobbomock said, ‘now I see the Englishman’s God is a good God, for he hath heard you and sent you rain, and that without storms, and tempests, and thunder, which usually we have with our rains, which breaks down our corn, but yours stands whole and good still;—surely your God is a good God.’

Many remarkable, and apparently providential interpositions, oftentimes, seeming direct and favorable answers to the prayers of the supplicants, impressed the Indians with the belief that the English were under the immediate protection of a Being, who always regarded the supplications of his worshippers, and their reverence was increased in proportion as they saw his hand operating directly in the affairs of his people.

Standish, who had been despatched by the governor to obtain provisions, returned with some, and with him came David Thompson, the settler of Piscataquack.

Late in July and early in August, (1623,) two ships arrived with supplies, bringing sixty passengers, amongst whom were Mr Timothy Hatherly, Mr George Morton, and Mr John Jenny, and the wives and children of some who had already arrived. Some of the new comers proved so bad that they were sent back. The ships were called the Anne and the Little James.

Cushman wrote to them—‘Some few of your old friends are come; they come dropping to you; and by degrees I hope ere long you shall enjoy them all.’

Others wrote,—‘Let it not be grievous to you, that you have been the instruments to break the ice for others who come after you with less difficulty; the honor shall be yours to the world’s end; we bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection is towards you all, as are the hearts of hundreds more which never saw your faces, who doubtless pray for your safety as their own.’

When the passengers saw the lowly condition of the colonists, they were sorely dismayed, excepting their old friends who appeared to be rejoiced to be with them, and to find that their condition was not worse. The best fare which could be provided were lobsters and cold water. Of bread the settlers were destitute, but devotion filled their hearts with gratitude to the giver of all good, and a day was set apart for thanksgiving and praise.

On the tenth of September, (1623,) the Anne sailed for England, laden with clapboards and furs, and Mr Winslow again went out to England as the agent of the colony. The Little James had been built for the company. She was fitted for trade and discovery to the south of Cape Cod.

The harvest came in plentifully, and their apprehensions of famine were removed.

Prince

In the course of this month, Captain Robert Gorges, the son of Sir Ferdinando, accompanied by Mr Morell an Episcopalian minister, and many other passengers and their families, arrived in the bay to commence another settlement. He selected the spot at Wessagusset which had been abandoned by Weston's company.

He acted under a commission from the council of New England, by which he was constituted lieutenant general or general governor of the country. Admiral West, Christopher Levit, Esq. and the governor of Plymouth for the time being, were constituted his council, and authority was given him to appoint other counsellors. Full power was granted to him and his assistants, or any three of them, (whereof he was to be one,) in all cases, capital, criminal or civil. Having notified the governor of Plymouth of his arrival, before he could visit him, he sailed for the eastward, but was compelled by stress of weather to put into Plymouth, where he was treated with great distinction and remained there fourteen days. It was during this stay that he met with Weston, as has been before related. Governor Gorges, (who was much pleased with his reception at Plymouth,) set out by land for Massachusetts, leaving his ship at Plymouth. During her stay some of the seamen, by making a great fire in a house on shore caught the chimney, and the fire being communicated consumed that and three or four other houses, with all their goods and provisions. This accident induced some of those who had been burnt out to take passage in the ship for Virginia. Some others also embraced this opportunity to return, among whom was Mr Hatherly, who disliked the country.

The Little James the pinnace which had been sent out to trade with the Narragansetts returned with some corn and beaver, and made but a poor voyage as the Dutch supplied that country with better goods.

In the early part of the year 1624, Capt. Gorges returned to England, whither some of his people also went; others went to Virginia; but few remained, and they were supplied with provisions by the people of Plymouth.

Gorges was a man of rank accustomed to the ease and luxury of high life, and could little brook the toils, and hardships, and privations incident to an attempt to people a wilderness.

Mr Morell remained about a year and then returned. He was created a superintendent over all the churches, but very wisely never attempted to execute his commission, and he did not think it worth his while even to exhibit it. Thus terminated the second attempt to establish a plantation in Massachusetts. A very few, however, remained, and they were joined in the course of the year by some families from Weymouth in England, from whom this plantation afterwards received the name of Weymouth.

About this time at the instigation of Mr White, a celebrated puritan minister at Dorchester in England, a settlement was commenced at Cape Anne in Massachusetts, and John Tilly was employed as the overseer.

When the day of the annual election arrived, (1624) Governor Bradford was very anxious to be relieved from the toils of office, representing to the people that whether the office were honorable or burthensome, others ought to share it, but notwithstanding his remonstrances they elected him, but to lessen his labor they increased the number of assistants from one to five, giving the governor however, a double voice in the court of assistants. Hitherto he had been annually chosen from the time of his first election, and Allerton had also been chosen his assistant or deputy governor, to which office he was re-chosen. Edward Winslow and three others were chosen assistants.

The pinnace was sent to Damarin's cove to fish, but being driven on the rocks, she sunk with her lading, and the master and one man were drowned, but by the assistance of the fishermen who resorted there, she was afterwards raised and repaired.

In the month of March, (1624) Winslow returned in the ship *Charity*, bringing a supply of clothing, and a bull and three heifers being the first neat cattle which were imported into New England.

The colonists learned from him that a strong party had been raised up against them amongst the adventurers, who were extremely anxious to prevent Robinson and the remainder of his church from emigrating to America. He brought letters from Robinson and Cushman. A carpenter came over for the purpose of building two ketches, a lighter, and six or seven shallops, and a person also to make salt. The carpenter built his craft faithfully and speedily, but soon died. The other was ignorant and did not bring his undertaking to any successful issue.

John Lyford a preacher who afterwards occasioned much trouble to the colony also came with Winslow, not however by his solicitation, for his reputation was low, but he was forced upon him by the company in England.

A patent for Cape Anne was taken out by the adventurers.

The people becoming dissatisfied about the uncertain tenure of their lands, prevailed upon the governor to assign to each one an acre in fee. The land was located as near the town as practicable, the object of the governor being to prevent the people from scattering, and to keep the town as compact as possible, both for safety and defence, and it was then understood that no more land should be assigned in severalty for seven years.

The *Charity* was discharged and sent to Cape Anne to

fish, but through the drunkenness of the master, she met with no success.*

At first, the deportment of Lyford to the colonists was humble even to servility ; making many professions of love and blessing God that he had been permitted to see their faces.

The governor on important occasions had been accustomed to consult with Brewster the ruling elder, he now also admitted Lyford to his consultations, and he received from the public stock a greater allowance than any one else.

In a short time he made a confession of faith lamenting his errors with great grief and humility, and desired to be admitted to the fellowship of the church, and he was received without hesitation.

He formed a close intimacy with John Oldham, a violent and turbulent man who was supposed to be in the interest of that part of the adventurers who were inimical to the colony, and in fact no better than a spy of theirs.

They succeeded in exciting the more vicious and profane part of the populace against the church, and although they endeavored to keep their designs secret until they were matured, yet they were soon suspected, and closely observed. By the aid of the enemies of the colony in the company of adventurers they expected on some day to overthrow the government and the church, and to take the lead in affairs themselves.

When the ship in which Winslow returned was about to depart for England, it was observed that Lyford had been much engaged in writing, and he was so indiscreet as to

* On the seventeenth of June Governor Bradford's son William, afterwards deputy governor of the colony, was born, and in the course of that month, George Morton, a man of eminent piety and worth, died,

promulgate some things which were in his correspondence to some of his favorites, and they being still more indiscreet, made no secret of his communication to them, but boasted openly of their expectations of a change in affairs at Plymouth. The suspicion of the governor was excited. Fearful of the effect which Lyford's representations might produce in England, he followed the ship after she had sailed in a boat, and representing the affair truly to Peirce the captain, who was attached to the colonists, and who was aware of the machinations which were engendering against them, he permitted him to open the letters of Lyford and Oldham.—They were filled with slanders and falsehoods. Had these accusations been heeded in England, many evil consequences might have followed, involving even the existence of the colony.

Most of the letters were copied and resealed, but the most important were retained, and copies supplied.

Amongst other letters, one was found directed to John Pemberton a minister, and a violent enemy to the colony; in this letter, copies of a letter written by a gentleman in England to Mr Brewster, and also of another letter which Winslow had written to Mr Robinson, were enclosed. These letters had been lying in the cabin of the ship in which Lyford embarked for America, and while she was lying at Gravesend, he opened and copied them.

Opening confidential letters was an act which hardly comported with the high and honorable character which Bradford always sustained, but he knew his adversary, and his suspicions were justified by his discoveries. He sought only the good of the colony, with whose safety he was especially entrusted, and he furnished himself with the means of destroying a turbulent faction before they could endanger its peace.

The conspirators were somewhat disconcerted when they discovered that Bradford had visited the ship, but as nothing was said which could indicate that he was in anywise acquainted with the contents of their letters, they soon resumed their machinations.

Bradford in the meantime was silent but watched their conduct closely, with a view to ascertain their designs more fully, and to discover their adherents.

Oldham soon began to be refractory, and refused to do military duty, abused his captain in the most opprobrious terms, and attacked him with a knife. For this offence he was imprisoned, but acknowledging his error, he was soon released. Soon after this, the plot came to its crisis.

Without consulting the governor, the elders, or the church, Lyford thinking his adherents sufficiently numerous to bid defiance to the authority of the colony, withdrew himself from the church and worshipped apart, and attempted to administer the sacrament by virtue of his episcopal ordination.

The governor then called a court and summoned the whole company, and there preferred his charges against Lyford and Oldham. They denied his accusations with great boldness and defied him to the proof.

The governor spoke at some length as to the principal objects and views of the colonists,—their desire to enjoy the ordinances of God unmolested, the toils and dangers which they had encountered in effecting those objects, (and in which these men had not participated,) and he reproached Lyford with his perfidy in plotting against men who had received him with kindness, and had supported him at much expense. Persisting in their denial, he produced their letters, and they were utterly confounded.

Oldham however, rallying his courage, called on his

adherents to resist, but they were all silent, being wholly incapacitated to act, through fear.

The Governor then enlarged upon the additional proofs which the letters supplied of the hypocrisy and wickedness of Lyford. His early treachery in opening the letters to Brewster and Robinson. His deceitfulness in making such professions of regard, and his wicked enmity to those to whom he had made these professions. His confessions when he was admitted to the church 'that he did not hold himself a minister till he had a new calling,' and his endeavors to distract the colony by building up a separate church, and administering the sacrament by virtue of his former calling.

Feebly indeed did Lyford defend himself by saying that many had complained to him, and informed him of abuses; but those whom he named, denied his assertions.

At length he confessed 'that he feared he was a reprobate, his sins were so great that God would not pardon them, he was unsavory salt, and that he had so wronged them that he could never make them amends;' confessing 'all he had written against them was false and nought both for matter and manner.' During this confession his eyes were streaming with tears, and his deportment was so humble as to excite compassion notwithstanding his offences.

Both were convicted, and sentenced to banishment from the colony, Oldham to depart forthwith, his wife and children, however, were permitted to remain through the winter.

Lyford was permitted to remain six months. The governor intended to remit his sentence, if his deportment evidenced the sincerity of his repentance:—Lyford acknowledged its justice, he acknowledged that he had slandered the church, and that he had flattered himself

with the hope of being able to draw off the greater part of the people to himself, and he blessed God that his designs were frustrated.—He charged himself with pride, vainglory, and self-love, saying, that he was liable constantly to evil, and shut his eyes and ears to all good.—He even said that if ‘ God should make him a vagabond in the earth, as was Cain, it was but just.’

Such an appearance of deep contrition did he exhibit, that many took compassion on him, and he was again permitted to teach, nay some were willing ‘ to fall upon their knees,’ to have his sentence remitted.

But his professions of repentance were all false and hollow ; in less than three months after his trial and before his probation had expired, he wrote another slanderous letter to the adventurers, which he entrusted to one who had taken passage in the Pinnacle which was about to sail for London, but this person gave the letter to the governor, and his perfidy again was discovered.*

Oldham departed forthwith to Nantasket, where the Plymouth people had erected a building for the convenience of their trade with the Indians of Massachusetts, and thither went Mr Roger Conant and some others with their families, where they remained over a year. Mr Conant was a pious and prudent man, and it seemed unaccountable that he should have imbibed so great a dislike to the people of Plymouth as to have abandoned them, and consorted with Oldham and Lyford.

Mr Conant was afterwards employed by the people of Dorchester to oversee both the planting and fishing at Cape Anne, and Mr Humphrey was appointed their treasurer. Lyford was invited to be their minister, and Oldham

* On the fifth of August, Mr Thomas Prince who was afterwards governor, was married to Mrs Patience Brewster, being the ninth marriage which had been solemnized in the colony.

to oversee their trade with the natives, which invitation Oldham did not accept, but at the annual election in March, 1625, he returned to Plymouth in violation of his sentence, by which he was required to obtain leave of the governor before he came into the colony. So violent and intractable was his conduct, that his own associates were ashamed, and reprov'd him. So loud was he in discourse, and so abusive in his language, that to keep the peace they were compelled to confine him.

After he became calm, they conducted him through two ranks of armed men to his boat, which lay at the water side. The men were all ordered to give him a blow with their muskets, saying at the same time, 'go, and mend your manners.'

While the peace of the colony was thus disturbed at home, Winslow met with much difficulty in England from the adventurers, many of whom took occasion to indulge their enmity to the colonists, by upholding Lyford.

A meeting was called in which this case was to be heard and decided. Mr White a counsellor of law, and Mr Hooker, were chosen moderators.

Winslow disclosed some facts touching the character of Lyford while he was a minister in Ireland, and for which he had been compelled to leave that kingdom, which confounded his friends, and the moderators decided that the colonists were justified in all their proceedings against him for his conduct at Plymouth, without referring to his previous misconduct. Some disclosures of his profligacy while he lived in Ireland having been made by his wife, who was a sober and pious woman, and who lived in constant apprehensions lest the judgment of heaven should overtake him, together with the news which had been brought by Winslow, induced him forthwith to remove to Nantasket. Afterwards upon the invitation of the Dor-

chester people, he went with Mr Conant to Cape Anne, from whence he went to Naumkeag,* and afterwards to Virginia, where he died.

Oldham remained at Nantasket and engaged in trade with great industry and success. On a voyage to Virginia, while in danger of immediate shipwreck, he confessed the wrongs which he had done to the church and people of Plymouth, and he told the passengers 'that as he had sought their ruin, so God had now met with him, and might destroy him; yea, he feared that they all fared the worse for his sake; he prayed God to forgive him, and made vows, that if the Lord spared his life, he would become otherwise.'

Whether he was brought to a sense of his errors by his dangers, or his reflections, he departed himself so respectfully afterwards to the people of Plymouth, that they permitted him to come into the colony, whenever his convenience required. Some time after, while on a trading voyage to Manisses,† he was killed in a quarrel with the Indians, which act was one of the causes of the Pequot war. Oldham was a man of talent, enterprise, and courage, but very illiterate, and cursed with a furious and ungovernable temper.‡

* Now Salem.

† Block Island.

‡ It cannot now be doubted that the faults of Oldham have been much exaggerated by the friends of Plymouth.

After the settlement of Massachusetts, Oldham removed to Watertown, and was till his death, held in high respect by a people whose standard of morals was graduated by a mere rigid rule than that of their Plymouth neighbors, and who subjected the characters of men to severer tests than were practised in the elder colony. Oldham was the deputy from Watertown in 1632, in the first general court of Massachusetts to which deputies from the towns were summoned. He was a daring trader amongst the Indians, and so great was the attachment of the Narragansetts to him, that they gave him an island in the bay, (now called Prudence) to induce him to settle near them.

CHAPTER IX.

Death of King James I.—Settlement at Mount Wollaston in Quincy, by Capt. Wollaston.—Rebellious and riotous proceedings of Thomas Morton.—Checked by Capt. Endicott, and suppressed by Capt. Standish, who sends Morton to England as a prisoner.—Returns, and is again sent back.—Dissolution of the Company of Merchant Adventurers.—Standish goes to England as the agent of the Colony.—Returns.—Death of Robinson at Leyden.—Death of Cushman.—Settlers engage deeply in trade and in fishing.—Allerton goes to England as agent.—Shipwreck of a Virginia ship.—The Dutch governor at Fort Amsterdam, (New York,) sends a deputation to Plymouth.—Commercial intercourse between the Dutch and the people of Plymouth.—Return of Allerton.—Purchase by the colonists of the whole trading stock.—It^s division amongst the settlers.—Twenty acres of tillage land in addition to the acre lot, assigned to each share.—Commercial enterprise of the colonists.—The privilege purchased by Governor Bradford, Winslow, Standish, Brewster, Alden, Howland, and Allerton.—Allerton goes again to England as agent.—Returns.—Obtains a patent for Kennebeck.—John Rodgers, a young minister, comes with Allerton; proving insane, he is sent back.—Erect a trading house at Kennebeck.—Great success in selling wampum.—King's proclamation, forbidding the sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians.—Allerton, the agent, again visits England.—Settlement at Naumkeag, (Salem.)—Sickness there.—Ralph Smith settled as the first pastor of Plymouth. Thirtyfive families arrive from Leyden.—Allerton returns, and is sent back immediately.—Another company arrive from Leyden.—Join Shirley and Hatherly in the Penobscot Patent.—Their trading house robbed by the crew of a French ship.—Plots of the Narragansetts and other Indians.—Settlements about Massachusetts Bay.—Charlestown, Dorchester, Boston.—William Blackstone.—View of the laws and government of the colony.—Great Patent of New England.—The two Patents to John Peirce.—The patent to William Bradford and his associates, 1629.—Surrendered by Governor Bradford to the body of the freemen, 1640.—Declaration of the General Court setting forth their rights and titles.

On the twentyseventh day of March, (1625,) died King James I, and he was succeeded by his son the unfortunate Charles.

During this year, (1625,) Captain Wollaston and thirty others, (most of whom were servants, but some men of eminence,) commenced a plantation at a place, which they named Mount Wollaston.* Wollaston remained until the next year, (1626,) and then becoming discontented, removed to Virginia, taking with him many of the servants, and disposed of them there. He wrote to Rasdall, his chief partner, directing him to come to Virginia, with more of the servants, intending to dispose of them also. He appointed Mr Fitcher to command until either he or Rasdall should return. After Rasdall's departure, one Thomas Morton, who is said to have been 'a pettifogging attorney of Furnival's Inn,' a man of low habits, and who was held in contempt by the company, urged those who were left, and who were principally servants and low men, to depose Fitcher, and to live without any government or law whatever, leaving every man at perfect liberty to do as he pleased, unrestrained by any regulation, promising to make them his equal associates and partners, that they should not be compelled to do service for any one, and representing to them that on Rasdall's return, they also would be carried away and sold for slaves. Alarmed and excited by such representations, and being intoxicated at a great feast which Morton made for them, they drove Fitcher from the plantation.

Morton and his fellows commenced a trade with the natives, and acquired much profit. Most of their time, however, was spent in rioting and drunkenness.

They erected a May-pole, round which they would dance with the Indian women, and Morton, who had some poetic talent, after writing obscene and scandalous satires, would affix them to the pole

* In the northerly part of Braintree, (now Quincy,) in Massachusetts.

They fell into all kinds of licentiousness and profanity, and changed the name of their residence from Mount Wollaston to Merry Mount.

In this dissolute and idle manner they lived until the autumn of 1628;—they then received ‘a check’ from Captain Endicott, the governor of Naumkeag,* who coming to Mount Wollaston, reproved them with great severity, cut down their May-pole, and admonished them to change their courses, and he again changed the name of their Mount, calling it Mount Dagon.

Heedless of his reproofs, they soon commenced a traffic which endangered the existence of all the settlements.

Hitherto the English had scrupulously refrained from selling arms and ammunition to the Indians. Notwithstanding the great profits which might have been gained in such a traffic, they were wise enough to refrain from it; but Morton having obtained some guns and ammunition, taught the Indians how to use them. He employed them to hunt for him, and purchased their furs.

They soon became more expert than the English in the use of firearms, and passionately devoted themselves to hunting. Their bows and arrows were rejected as worthless, and they would purchase muskets at any price. They were also taught the use of the pistol and rapier, and the art of repairing defective arms.

Encouraged by the success of this traffic, Morton sent to England for a new supply.

The English, well knowing that it was the ignorance of the natives in the use of arms to which they owed their safety, and now frequently meeting them in the woods, armed, became alarmed.

* Now Salem.

Merry Mount was also an asylum for all the idle and vicious servants of the settlers, all such being welcomed by Morton, and admitted into his company on terms of perfect equality. Fearful of the effect which these evil communications might produce, the settlers in all the scattered plantations took measures to break up Morton's establishment.

At a meeting of the principal persons from the settlements at Piscataway, Naumkeag, Winisimit, Wessagussett, Nantaske and other places, it was resolved to solicit the assistance of Plymouth to suppress this dangerous combination before it grew to greater strength.

After receiving their messages and letters, the government of Plymouth resolved to comply with their request, but with the moderation which characterized all their proceedings, they first despatched a messenger to Morton, to advise him, in the spirit of friendship, to refrain from his practices, but he received the advice with scorn, asking 'who had to do with him?' and declaring that he would sell arms to the Indians in despite of any one.

Still unwilling to come to extremities, they despatched another messenger, who represented to him that the safety of the country, and the king's proclamation which expressly forbade the sale of munitions of war to the Indians, imperiously required him to desist. Morton replied that 'the king's proclamation was no law, and had no penalty but his displeasure, and that being dead his displeasure died with him,' and threatened that if he were molested, he would resist, representing also that for resistance he was well prepared.

Finding him to be utterly refractory, they were convinced that nothing but force could succeed. The governor despatched Captain Standish with a few men, to seize Morton.

When Standish arrived at Merry Mount, Morton collected and armed his companions, and after heating them with liquor, put his powder and bullets on the table, and barred his door.

Standish summoned him to capitulate, but he only scoffed and defied him. At length, fearful that his house might be attacked, he came out with some of his followers with a great show of courage to attack Standish, who instantly walking up to him with a resolute countenance, so intimidated him, that he suffered his musket to be taken, and scarcely resisted. He then submitted quietly, and the affair was terminated without bloodshed.

Standish then entered the house, and dispersed the more turbulent part of the company, and leaving the others returned to Plymouth, conducting Morton a prisoner. This affair happened in the latter part of the year 1628.* Morton remained at Plymouth until a ship was ready to sail from the Isle of Shoals, in which, he was sent home with a messenger and a letter to the Council of New England, setting forth his offences; but so utterly regardless were the council of the interests, the safety, and the complaints of the people of New England, that they did not even reprove him, and the next year (1629,) he returned

* The following account of the expense of this expedition was submitted to the council of New England, which shews the ability of the plantations in 1628.

Plymouth contributed	-	-	-	£2	10	0
Naumkeag (Salem)	-	-	-	1	10	0
Piscataway	-	-	-	2	10	0
Mr Jeffrey and Mr Burslem	-	-	-	2	00	0
Nantasket	-	-	-	1	10	0
Mr Thompson (Squantum neck)	-	-	-		15	0
Mr Blackstone (Shawmut, Boston)	-	-	-		12	0
Mr Edward Hilton, (Cocheco, Dover)	-	-	-	1	00	0
				—	—	—
				£12	· 7	0

to Plymouth in the capacity of secretary to Mr Allerton, who had gone out as the agent of the colony; for this, the people of Plymouth were deeply offended with Allerton. Morton was obliged to leave Plymouth, and he again went to Merry Mount.

Having been suspected in England of the murder of one who had entrusted him with money, a warrant was issued by the Lord Chief Justice to apprehend and bring him back, which warrant the governor of Massachusetts caused to be executed, after the court of assistants of that colony had sentenced him 'to be set in the bilbowes,' and had ordered that his goods should be seized to defray the expense of his transportation, and for the 'payment of his debts, and to satisfy the Indians for a canoe which he had unjustly taken from them. For the many wrongs he had done the Indians, they directed that his house should be burned to the ground in their sight.' He was imprisoned for a long time at the city of Exeter in England. After his release he wrote a book, in which he defamed many of the first characters in New England, and for which, (many years afterwards,) he was imprisoned at Boston after his third return. He asserted, however, that many things in the book were interpolated. He died at Piscataway.

1625. After the decision of Lyford and Oldham's case, the company of Merchant Adventurers, with whom the Plymouth people had been so long connected, was dissolved.

Some of them still cherishing their enmity, despatched a ship with orders to take a stage and other erections, for the purpose of fishing, which had been made during the preceding year at Cape Ann. Having reached the place before the Plymouth people arrived, they gained the possession of them.

Upon hearing of this outrage, the governor despatched Captain Standish to retake them. He demanded their instant surrender. The demand being refused, Standish resolved to recover them by force ; but Mr Conant who dwelt there, and who was a man of a mild and conciliatory disposition, and Captain Peirce, a fast friend of the Plymouth people, also happening to be there with his ship, interposing their good offices, the dispute was compromised, the ship's crew having promised to build another stage.

Some of the Merchant Adventurers still adhered to the colony, and they wrote by Mr Winslow who returned this year — ‘ We cannot forget you, nor disown friendship and fellowship we have had some years,—our hearty affections towards you, (unknown by face,) have been no less than to our nearest friends, yea to ourselves. As there has been a faction among us, (at London,) more than two years ; so now there is an utter breach and sequestration. The company's debts are not less than £1400, and we hope you will do your best to free them. We are still persuaded that you are the people that must make a plantation in these remote places when all others fail. We have sent some cattle, clothes, hoes, shoe leather, &c, but in another nature than formerly, having committed them to the charge of Mr Allerton and Winslow, to sell as our factors.’

The goods were ordered to be sold at seventy per cent. advance, which was thought by the settlers to be unreasonable and oppressive.

They sent out two ships to fish on their own account, The large ship made a great fare. The small one was laden with fish and eight hundred pounds of beaver. The captain of the large ship, fearful of a war with France, instead of going to Spain to sell his fish, put into Portsmouth, towing in the other ship. An Algerine corsair at-

tacked and captured the small ship in sight of Plymouth in England, and carried the captain and crew to Sallee, where they were sold for slaves.

Standish, who went out this year as agent, escaped providentially; for he had first embarked in the small ship, and afterwards left her and took passage in the large one. By this undertaking the adventurers sustained a great loss.

Standish arrived in London at a most unfortunate time. The plague was then raging with such violence, that no business could be transacted. He however had a satisfactory interview with the council. In the month of April (1626,) he returned, having taken up £150 at fifty per cent. which he laid out in goods, and he commenced a negotiation with the company for the sale of their invested property in the Plymouth concern.

He was the bearer of sorrowful tidings. Many of their friends in England had died of the plague. Robinson had died at Leyden. Mr Roger White in a letter to Elder Brewster dated at Leyden, gives this account of his death. 'It has pleased the Lord to take out of this vale of tears, your and our loving and faithful pastor, Mr Robinson; he fell sick Saturday morning, February 22, 1625. Next day taugh't us twice, on the week grew weaker every day feeling little or no pain. Sensible to the last, departed this life first of March. Had a continual inward ague. All his friends came freely to him, and if prayers, tears, or means, would have saved his life, he had not gone hence. We still hold close together in peace, wishing that you and we were again together.'

Mr Robinson was born in England, in 1575. It is believed, although it is not certainly known, that he was educated at Cambridge. He had a benefice near Yarmouth, in the county of Norfolk, but his puritan principles were

so strict that he submitted to no compromises, and in consequence, suffered much from persecution.

About the year 1602, he became the pastor of the church which fled to Holland in 1608. He was but fifty when he died. Much may be learned of his history and character from the preceding pages.

Secretary Morton says 'he was a man of a learned, polished, and moderate spirit; pious and studious of the truth; largely accomplished with gifts and qualifications suitable to be a shepherd over this flock of Christ.'

The following masterly delineation of his character is the work of a modern writer.* 'Mr Robinson was a man of good genius, quick penetration, ready wit, great modesty, integrity, and candor. His classic literature and acuteness in disputation, were acknowledged by his adversaries. His manners were easy, courteous, and obliging. His preaching was instructive and affecting. Though in his younger years he was rigid in his separation from the Episcopal Church, by whose governors he and his friends were treated with unrelenting severity, yet when convinced of his error, he openly acknowledged it, and by experience and conversation with good men, became moderate and charitable, without abating his zeal for strict and real religion. It is always a sign of a good heart, when a man becomes mild and candid as he grows in years. This was eminently true of Mr Robinson. He learned to esteem all good men of every religious persuasion, and charged his flock to maintain the like candid and benevolent conduct. His sentiments respecting the reformers as expressed in his valedictory discourse, will entail immortal honor to his memory; evidencing his accurate discernment, his inflexible honesty, and his fervent zeal for truth and a good

* Dr Belknap.

conscience. He was also possessed in an eminent degree, of the talent of peace making, and was happy in composing differences among neighbors and in families ; so that peace and union were preserved in his congregation.'— Besides his singular abilities in moral and theological matters, he was very discerning and prudent in civil affairs, and able to give them good advice in regard to their secular and political conduct. He was highly esteemed, not only by his own flock, but by the magistracy and clergy of Leyden, who gave him the use of one of their churches, in the chancel of which he was buried. Mr Prince who visited that city in 1714, says that the most ancient people then living told him from their parents, that the whole city and university regarded him as a great and good man, whose death they sincerely lamented.*

The letters which were received from Leyden were full of lamentations, and the writers seemed to despair of reaching America.

Standish also brought news of the death of Mr Cushman, who had been the principal agent in all the early transactions with the Virginia company. Cushman went over to Holland with Mr Robinson. He embarked at South Hampton for America in the summer of 1620, but after the ship was compelled to return to England, he was unwilling at that time to attempt the voyage again, but remained with his family. In November, 1621, he came over in the *Fortune*, but returned in the same ship according to the orders of the merchant adventurers, who wished

* After the death of Mr Robinson, his widow and children came to America. His son Isaac was much respected, he resided at Barnstable, of which town he was occasionally a deputy in the general court, but he fell into discredit about the time that severe measures were adopted against the Quakers, as his principles were tolerant, and he was not disposed to molest any for their conscientious belief. He lived until he was ninety. His posterity are numerous.

to learn from him the exact and true situation, and prospects of the colony. On his return he was captured by the French, but was soon released. He never returned to Plymouth, but was constantly engaged in the service of the Colony. He died in 1626. Cushman was a learned, acute, sagacious, and enterprising person. He had great knowledge of human nature, and was a sincere and pious Christian. While at Plymouth, he delivered a discourse on the 'sin and danger of self-love,' which is a performance of uncommon merit.*

So favorable had been the harvest of the preceding year, that the product was more than sufficient for the wants of the people. A large shallop laden with corn was despatched to the Kennebeck river under the direction of Mr Winslow. He succeeded in his enterprise, and returned with 700 pounds of beaver, besides other furs.

Animated by their success, the settlers planted largely, and engaged deeply in trade.

Hearing that the establishment at Munhiggon was about to be relinquished, the governor and Mr Winslow went there to purchase the goods, and meeting with David Thompson, who had again returned to Piscataway, and who was there on the same design, they joined in the adventure, and purchased goods to the amount of £500 and several goats, for which they paid in beaver and other commodities.

After the harvest, they were able from the proceeds of these goods, and of their corn, to pay the money which had been taken up by Standish, and the remnants of their old debts, and to obtain some clothing and other articles.

* After the death of Mr Cushman, his family came to Plymouth. His son Thomas Cushman succeeded Mr Brewster as the ruling elder of the church in 1649, and continued in that office until his death, at the age of eightyfour in 1691. Elder Cushman was a man of great piety and worth.

In the autumn, Mr Allerton went out to England as agent, designing to effect a final settlement with the adventurers, to take up more money, and to purchase goods.

The Dorchester adventurers at Cape Anne becoming dissatisfied with their situation, and being about to abandon the place, Mr Conant together with John Woodberry, John Balch, and Peter Palfrey, by the persuasions of Mr White, who was extremely anxious to preserve a colony in the neighborhood, were induced to go to Naumkeag in the autumn of 1626. Lyford went with them. Mr White promised to procure a patent, and to send men, provisions, and a stock of merchandisc.

A ship bound to Virginia, having been cast away on the south side of Cape Cod, the captain sent two of his men with Indian guides to Plymouth, to solicit the governor to send him a supply of pitch, oakum, spikes, and corn.

The governor taking a supply of these articles, sailed up a creek on the north side of the Cape called Naumskaket, from whence the land transportation across to the sea was only two miles.

The Indians conveyed his stores. After supplying the ship, he purchased a boat load of corn, and returned home, but the ship being repaired was again driven on shore in a great storm, and rendered completely unseaworthy. The crew and passengers were anxious to go to Plymouth. The people of Plymouth being informed of their disaster, assisted them in the transportation of their goods, and received them into their houses. The principal men amongst them were Messrs Fells and Silsby.

Despairing of reaching Virginia before the end of the next year, they solicited the use of some land, which their servants cleared and planted, and raised a great quantity of corn. At the latter end of the summer, (1627) they

sailed for Virginia in two barques, having sold their corn at Plymouth. Many times after, they took occasion to express their thankfulness for the kindness which they had experienced.

1627. In the month of March, a deputation from the Dutch governor at Fort Amsterdam, bearing a letter written both in Dutch, and in French, (dated March 9th 1627, and subscribed by Isaac De Rasier secretary,) arrived at Plymouth.

The Dutch had just commenced their settlement at Manhattan or Manhadoes,* where they had been accustomed to trade for several years.

They congratulated the people of Plymouth on the success of their praiseworthy undertaking, and proffered their good will and service 'in all friendly kindness and good neighborhood,' and they concluded by offering 'any of their goods that might be serviceable,' declaring 'that they should take themselves bound to accommodate and help their Plymouth neighbors with any wares that they should be pleased to deal for.'

Governor Bradford in his answer to the Dutch governor expressed his sense of the kindness which the people of Plymouth had received from the Dutch in their own country, and their 'grateful acceptance of their offered friendship.'

Early in the next year, De Rasier came to Manomet in a vessel which was laden with sugar, linen, stuffs, &c.

Being desirous to visit Plymouth, a boat was despatched by the governor to Manonseusset to receive him and his company; he arrived at Plymouth attended according to the fashion of the Dutch by trumpeters.

* Now New York.

Here he and his company were kindly entertained for several days, and when they returned to Manomet, several of the Plymouth people accompanied them and purchased many of their goods. After this, the Dutch often came to Manomet and exchanged their linen and stuffs for tobacco, which trade was extremely advantageous to the people of Plymouth until the Virginians found out the Dutch colony, and drove them from this market by underselling.

The first intercourse between these two infant settlements of neighboring European nations, was conducted in the very spirit of amity, but their friendship suffered some interruption afterwards.

In the spring of this year, Mr Allerton returned, having taken up £200 for the colony, at thirty per cent. which was invested in goods.

Having been assisted by many true friends of the colony, he succeeded after much trouble in purchasing all the interest of the company of adventurers.

The agreement was signed on the 15th of November, (1626) subject to the acceptance of the people of Plymouth.

The company sold to the colony all their shares, stocks, merchandise, lands, and chattels, in consideration of £1800, to be paid at the Royal Exchange in London, every Michaelmas, in nine annual and equal payments, the first of which was to be made in 1628. This agreement was approved. Yet the settlers were distrustful of their ability to provide for the annual payments, and their own wants; and the rate of interest was at that time exorbitant. Yet despair formed no part of their character, they always lived in hope, and trusted to God. Allerton's agreement was unanimously sanctioned, and seven or eight of the principal men became jointly bound in behalf of

the others for the true payment of this sum, but it was done at much risk.

To identify the interest, and to give satisfaction to the whole, every head of a family and every prudent young man who was of age, both of the first and later comers, were admitted into a general partnership, and all agreed that the trade should be managed as usual, devoting all its profits to the payment of the debt,—that every single freeman should have a single share, and that every father of a family should have leave to purchase a share for himself, another for his wife, and one for each of his children who lived with him, and that every one should pay his share of the debts according to his number of shares. One cow and two goats were divided by lot to every six shares, and the swine in proportion. And to every share in addition to the acre lots which they already held, and the gardens and homestead of which they were possessed, twenty acres of tillage land was assigned by lot, which were to be five acres broad on the water, and four acres deep. No meadows were laid out at this time, because the quantity of meadow land being small, they were fearful that some might be prevented from settling with them, if the meadows were all taken up and holden in severalty.

Mowing places were assigned as the seasons came round to all the families according to their number of cattle.

The settlers now began to make vigorous efforts to free themselves from debt, and for this purpose engaged more extensively in trade.

They built a small pinnace at Manomet, a place on the sea, on the south side of Cape Cod, distant twenty miles from Plymouth, and by navigating a creek on the north side, they were enabled to transport their goods thither, with only four or five miles of land transportation; in this way they avoided the dangerous navigation around

the Cape. For the safety of their vessel and goods, they built a house, and kept a few servants there, who attended to agriculture, and navigated the vessel. In this enterprise they met with much success.

The remainder of Robinson's church at Leyden, after the death of their pastor, were anxious to come to America, and the people of Plymouth were equally anxious to see them. To effect their removal, the governor, together with Edward Winslow, Miles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, John Howland, and Isaac Allerton, ventured to hire the whole trade of the colony for six years from the last day of September, (1627,) and for this and the shallop, and pinnace, and stock at Manomet, they agreed to pay all the debts of the colony, including the large one to the adventurers, in all amounting to £2400, and to supply the people every year with shoes and hoes to the amount of £50, to sell them what corn they should want at 6s the bushel, and at the expiration of the six years to restore the trade to the colony.

In one of the fishing vessels which returned in the autumn of this year, Allerton, who was again appointed agent, took passage.

Upon presenting nine bonds to the adventurers, of £200 each, they executed and delivered a conveyance of their whole interest in New Plymouth.

Allerton carried out some beaver, wherewith to pay some of the engagements of the preceding year, as the settlers were very anxious to relieve themselves from the exorbitant interest with which they were charged. He was instructed to obtain a patent for a trading place on the Kennebeck river, as the Piscataway planters threatened to exclude those of Plymouth from that trade, and he was also instructed to endeavor to obtain the assistance of some of their London friends to enable them to discharge their debts and to bring their friends over from Leyden.

Mr James Shirley, an eminent London merchant, and a zealous friend of the colony, wrote to the people of Plymouth that 'the sole cause why the greater part of the adventurers maligned him was because he would not side with them against the people of Plymouth, and the coming over of the Leyden people ;'— and, (says he) 'assuredly unless the Lord be merciful to us, and the whole land in general, our condition is far worse than yours; wherefore if the Lord send persecution here, which is much to be feared, and should put into our minds to fly for refuge, I know no place safer than to come to you.' From this it would seem that the English Puritans had it early in their contemplations to fly to America, and had they not succeeded in their contest with King Charles, the American wilderness would have been peopled with great rapidity.

Early in the next year, (1628,) Allerton returned, having succeeded in all his objects. He paid the first £200 to the adventurers, and all their other debts excepting those which were due to Shirley, Beauchamp and Andrews. These gentlemen offered to become partners on equal terms with the governor and his associates in the trade of the colony, and engaged to send out some, if not all, their Leyden friends. He also brought out the necessary goods, and succeeded in obtaining a patent for Kennebeck, but its boundaries were so loose and undefined, that another was applied for, more definite and precise in its descriptions, which was obtained in the succeeding year.

With Allerton came a young minister of the name of Rodgers. The settlers had been in constant expectation of the arrival of Robinson, and they therefore had never ordained a pastor or teaching elder, which was the

less to be regretted, as their ruling elder, Brewster, was so eminently qualified, but in consequence of the death of Robinson they were induced to seek one.

It was, however, unfortunate for the colony that Rodgers came, as he became insane, and was sent home the next year at their charge.

On the river Kennebeck, a trading house was erected, and was constantly supplied with corn and goods. Having learned from the Dutch the great advantages which were to be derived in the Indian trade from wampum or wampum-peag, the settlers were induced to purchase of the article to the amount of £50, and to send it to Kennebeck :— Here it remained on hand for two years, but the interior Indians having heard of it, were so anxious to obtain it, that it became almost impossible to supply the demand. By the monopoly of this article alone, they engrossed the whole trade on that river, to the exclusion both of the fishermen, and other planters.

The king of England by proclamation had forbidden his subjects to sell arms or ammunition to the Indians, but they soon began to obtain them, and were taught the use of them by the French, who traded in the eastern parts of New England, and sometimes by the English fishermen, in defiance of the king's order.

In the autumn of this year, (1628) Allerton again went to England to obtain the enlargement and correction of the Kennebeck patent, and also another patent for Plymouth, and to facilitate the removal of the church at Leyden.*

Many of the servants who had been sent out by the patentees of Massachusetts, fell sick, Mr Endicot wrote

* Richard Warren, a man who had been extremely useful in the affairs of the colony, and who was highly respected by the people, died this year.

to Governor Bradford beseeching him to send Dr Fuller to Naumkeag, which he did.

Fuller being a deacon of the church at Plymouth, and well versed in its rules and discipline, gave much valuable information to Endicot respecting the formation of a church at Naumkeag. Endicot gratefully acknowledged the services of Fuller, when he again wrote to Governor Bradford.*

Some of the Plymouth people having found Mr Smith at Nantasket, at his request, conveyed him to Plymouth, where he was kindly received and urged to remain. His servants, and his goods being conveyed to Plymouth, he settled there, and was afterwards chosen their first pastor, and remained there several years.

* Endicot's letter to Governor Bradford.

‘ Right worshipful Sir,

‘ It is a thing not usual, that servants to one master, and of the same household, should be strangers:—I assure you I desire it not. Nay, to speak more plainly, I cannot be so to you. God's people are all marked with one and the same mark, and have for the main, one, and the same heart, guided by one and the same spirit of truth; and where this is, there can be no discord, nay here must needs be a sweet harmony; and the same request with you, I make unto the Lord, that we, as Christian brethren, be united by an heavenly and unfeigned love, bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on Him that is only able to direct and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care, in sending Mr Fuller amongst us, and rejoice much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship. It is, as far as I can gather, no more than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto me, being far from the common report that hath been spread of you, touching that particular; but God's children must now look for less here below; and it is a great mercy of God that he strengthened them to go through it. I shall not need, at this time, to enlarge unto you, for (God willing,) I purpose to see your face shortly; in the meantime, I humbly take my leave of you, committing you to the Lord's blessing, and protection, and rest.

Your assured loving friend,

Naumkeag, May 11th 1629.

JOHN ENDICOT.

In the month of August, (1629) thirtyfive families arrived from Leyden, at Plymouth. They were received with great joy. The expenses of their transportation were paid gratuitously by the undertakers. Houses were assigned to them. Grounds were prepared for their use, and they were subsisted out of the public stores for more than a year.

Mr Allerton returned without effecting his design, but being sent back immediately had better success. On the eighth of March, in the succeeding year, another company arrived from Leyden, who were equally well received. Their transportation was also paid gratuitously by the undertakers, although it amounted to £550.

The generosity of the chiefs of the colony to their Leyden brethren is unparalleled. They almost deprived themselves of the common necessaries of life to get them over, and to support them until they were able to support themselves, laboring at the same time under heavy debts, for which they paid exorbitant interest; but their necessities seemed only to stimulate them to greater exertions. Shirley and Hatherly, having taken out a patent to trade with the Indians at Penobscot, they requested the Plymouth undertakers to join them in this enterprise, which they did with much reluctance. Edward Ashley had been despatched from England, to superintend the trade. The undertakers sent Thomas Willet, who had lately arrived from Leyden, a discreet and faithful young man, in whom they had confidence, with a store of wampum, and corn, and united him with Ashley, in the superintendency. The next year, (1631) Ashley having sold ammunition in violation of his bond, was sent as a prisoner to England. In 1632, Willet and the greater part of his company being absent at Plymouth, (whither they had gone to obtain a supply of goods,) a small French ship went into the har-

bor under the pretence of distress, and finding but three or four servants, who were ignorant and simple men, by a stratagem, obtained possession of their arms, and robbed them of all their goods to the amount of £500, and leaving a taunting message for the master, departed.

During the spring, (1630) John Sagamore a friendly Indian, revealed to the English at Charlestown, a conspiracy amongst many of the tribes, of whom the Narragansetts were the chief, to destroy the English. For this purpose the Indians besought the governor of Plymouth for leave to 'have some sport there,' but he having refused them, they said 'if they might not come with leave, they would without ;' but the English making preparations everywhere to receive them, they abandoned their designs.

Having reached this stage in our history, it seems proper to review the civil, ecclesiastical, and military policy of the pilgrims.

They acknowledged an obligation to obey the laws of England generally, and in their instrument of government, recognise King James as their sovereign, but otherwise they were a *voluntary association*, governed by the majority, a pure, unmixed, and perfect democracy, where all power was exercised by the whole people.

The power of the governor seems to have been but little superior to that of any other individual, and was derived not from any constitutional authority delegated to him, but merely from a degree of influence arising in some measure from his station, but principally from his personal qualifications and character.

It does not seem that any judicial, executive, or legislative power was attached to his office, all that power being exercised by the whole body of the freemen or associates. Before them, trials for offences were holden,

and punishments were inflicted by their order. The governor in some cases previous to the establishment of juries, remitted punishments; he remitted that of the duellists Doty and Leister, after it had been partially administered.

This usage did not prevail for more than four years. The pilgrims although they had been domiciliated in Holland, retained all their predilections for the English law, and they soon adopted its noblest provision by establishing the right of trial by jury, which was secured in the following ordinance.

‘ It is ordained 17th day of December, anno domini 1623, by this court, then held, that all criminal facts, and also all matters of trespass and debts between man and man, should be tried by the verdict of twelve honest men, to be impannelled by authority, in form of a jury upon their oaths.’

Their military orders and arrangements were decided by a majority, and the officers were elected. Standish to whom the military power was given, possessed more than the governor.

In ecclesiastical affairs, the governor did not interfere more than any other individual.

In 1621, one assistant was given to the governor. His office was nominal, and he was considered rather as one designated to fulfil the functions of the executive office during the absence, sickness, or inability of the governor, and to preside after his death until a successor could be supplied by election.

In 1624, the number of assistants was increased to five, and the one first named was considered as the deputy governor.

The governor at this time was allowed a double voice. But still the power both of the governor and assistants may be considered as advisory and influential, and not

actual, and humble as it was, arising from necessity, and not from grant. It is said in the account of Lyford's trial, that the governor called a court. It would therefore appear that the power to convene the company was in him.

In weighty matters he usually invited the pastor and ruling elder to assist in council.

The first offence was committed by John Billington, a turbulent and malignant man who afterwards was tried and executed for murder. His offence was 'contempt of the captain's lawful command, with opprobrious speeches.' For this offence, 'he was convented before the whole company, and adjudged to have his neck and heels tied together; but after humbling himself and craving pardon, he was forgiven.'

One of the punishments was banishment, which was inflicted upon Lyford and Oldham, who were both by vote expelled from the colony.

This was for plotting and writing against the colony, and attempting to excite a sedition. This punishment was ordered by the people, and before them, the trial was holden.

After this, the church prevented Lyford from teaching, until upon his contrite behavior, they forgave him and permitted him to teach.

Upon Oldham's return without leave, the company ordered him to be punished with blows inflicted by muskets.

It cannot be ascertained that they had during this period any written code of laws, descriptive of offences, and defining the limits of punishment, but the people took upon themselves the execution of justice, and inflicted punishment at discretion, until the establishment of juries.

In their intercourse with the Indian nations, they assumed sovereign power, engaging in war, making peace,

forming treaties, and receiving (in behalf of the king of England, however,) the allegiance of the natives.

In their proceedings against Morton, who could not be considered according to the notions of the present day in any wise amenable to them, they acted upon the paramount principle of self-preservation.—That Morton had as much right to sell arms and ammunition to the Indians, as they had to forbid him would scarcely be controverted at the present day, and the jurists of this age would agree that the king's proclamation, he being dead, was invalid. A proclamation is a personal act of the reigning king, and has not the enduring and immutable character of a law.—But if by the sale of arms and ammunition, their existence was endangered, they had the unquestionable right to adopt such measures as should secure their safety.

The act of Endicot in cutting down the May-pole was far more reprehensible than the violence of Standish in breaking up the establishment, and taking Morton captive. The May-pole was the rallying point of the orgies of Merry Mount it is true, but Endicot had no more right to interfere with the amusements of Morton, than Morton had to interrupt the prayers or the worship of Endicot and his followers.

On the third of November 1620 the GREAT PATENT of New England under the King's hand was issued to the Council, which by that instrument was established at Plymouth in the County of Devon to enable them to 'plant, rule, and govern, New England.' Of this the pilgrims at the time they subscribed their instrument of government in Cape Cod harbor, were ignorant, they were then without the limits of the patent which had been obtained from the Virginia company.

A patent for trade was subsequently taken out by John Peirce as has been before related, under which, he contemplated a considerable change in the government.—That patent was purchased by the Merchant Adventurers.

Before the year 1630 when Allerton obtained the enlarged patent from the Council, the settlers were not in law a body politic. The legislative and judicial powers which they exercised were derived from no other source than common consent.

They were in fact a trading company without political power. The English branch of their company regarded profit only. The great object of the New England part of the company was the maintenance of religious freedom, and to this object commerce was subordinate. Necessity however, made them commercial, and when the interest of the London partners was purchased, the colony presents the novel and interesting spectacle of a whole community forming one great partnership, in the success of which all were interested.

The lands were originally cultivated in common, and the corn was raised for the common benefit; no one was possessed of an exclusive title.

In a short time it was found beneficial to grant the use of the homestead and gardens in severalty. Afterwards the separate use of acre lots was given to each family, but at the time of assigning this use any estate of inheritance or in fee until the seven years to which the partnership had been limited should have expired, was denied. After the purchase, the use of twenty acre tillage lots to each share in the partnership, (still refusing any estate of inheritance or in fee,) was assigned. The mowing lands were held in common, and the use was not assigned in severalty, except by the season.

Thrown together in a remote wilderness with no power to restrain, and no laws to govern, on the footing of the most perfect equality, it is surprising indeed, that this voluntary government should have endured even for ten years.

It was nothing but their sober habits and that strong moral sense growing out of a pure religious feeling, that kept this little society together.

Upon the whole, they exhibit a spectacle by which the most civilized and best regulated nations with their constitutions of government, and their codes of established laws may be benefited and instructed.

It is not known that they had any written law during this period. Their right to the soil was founded on occupation. They found it desolate, destitute of inhabitants, and uncultivated, and they occupied it. To lands in a wilderness, the title by occupation is the strongest. In addition to this, they had the full and free consent of the savage chief in their vicinity for its occupation, and cultivation. They interfered with no native right, the right to fish and to hunt remained as free to the natives as it was before their arrival, and there was enough for both Indians and English, each might have said to the other as Abraham said to Lot, 'Is not the whole land before us?'

As the great patent of New England is the foundation of the English title to the lands comprised within its limits, it is inserted for the purpose of shewing the extent of that title.

THE GREAT PATENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

JAMES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, &c.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting :—
Whereas, upon the humble petition of divers of our well disposed subjects, that intended to make several plantations in the parts of America, between the degrees of thirtyfour and fortyfive, We, according to our princely inclination, favoring much their worthy disposition, in hope thereby to advance the enlargement of the christian religion, to the glory of God Almighty, as also by that means to stretch out the bounds of our dominions, and to replenish those deserts with people, governed by laws and magistrates, for the more peaceable commerce of all that in time to come shall have occasion to traffic into those territories, granted unto Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, knights, Thomas Hamon, and Raleigh Gilbert, Esquires, and others their associates, for the more speedy accomplishment thereof, by our letters patent, bearing date the 10th day of April, in the fourth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the fortieth, free liberty to divide themselves into two several colonies : the one called the first colony, to be undertaken and advanced by certain knights, gentlemen, and merchants, in and about our city of London ; the other, called the second colony, to be undertaken and advanced by certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and their associates, in or about our cities of Bristol, Exon, and our town of Plymouth, and other places, as in and by our said letters patents, amongst other things more at large, it doth and may appear.

And whereas, since that time, upon the humble petition of the said adventurers and planters of the said first colony, we have been graciously pleased to make them one distinct and entire body by themselves, giving unto them their distinct limits and bounds :

And have, upon their like humble request, granted unto them divers liberties, privileges, enlargements, and immunities, as in and by our several letters patents, it doth and may more at large appear.

Now forasmuch as we have been, in like manner, humbly petitioned unto by our trusty and well beloved servant, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, knight, captain of our fort and island, by Plymouth, and by certain the principal knights and gentlemen adventurers of the said second colony, and by divers other persons of quality, who now intend to be their associates, divers of which have been at great and extraordinary charges, and sustained many losses, in seeking and discovering a place fit and convenient to lay the foundation of a hopeful plantation, and have, divers years past, by God's assistance, and their own endeavors, taken actual possession of the continent hereafter mentioned, in our name, and to our use, as sovereign lord thereof, and have settled already some of our people in places agreeable to their desires in those parts, and in confidence of prosperous success therein, by the continuance of God's divine blessing, and our royal permission, have resolved, in a more plentiful and effectual manner, to prosecute the same ; and to that purpose and intent, have desired of us, for their better encouragement and satisfaction therein, and that they may avoid all confusion, questions, or differences between themselves and those of the said first colony, that we would likewise be graciously pleased to make certain adventurers, intending to erect and establish fishery, trade, and plantation, within the

territories, precincts, and limits of the said second colony, and their successors, one several distinct and entire body, and to grant unto them such estate, liberties, privileges, enlargements, and immunities there, as are in those, our letters patents, hereafter particularly expressed and declared.

And forasmuch as we have been certainly given to understand, by divers of our good subjects, that have, for these many years past, frequented those coasts and territories between the degrees of forty and fortyeight, that there is no other the subjects of any christian king or state, by any authority from their sovereign lords or princes, actually in possession of any of the said lands or precincts, whereby any right, claim, interest, or title, may, might, or ought, by that means accrue, belong, or appertain unto them, or any of them.

And also, for that we have been further given certainly to know, that within these late years, there hath, by God's visitation, reigned a wonderful plague, together with many horrible slaughters and murders, committed amongst the savages and British people there heretofore inhabiting, in a manner to the utter destruction, devastation, and depopulation of that whole territory, so as there is not left, for many leagues together, in a manner, any that do claim or challenge any kind of interest therein, nor any other superior lord or sovereign, to make claim thereunto, whereby we, in our judgment, are persuaded and satisfied, that the appointed time is come in which Almighty God, in his great goodness and bounty towards us, and our people, hath thought fit and determined, that those large and goodly territories, deserted as it were by their natural inhabitants, should be possessed and enjoyed by such of our subjects and people, as heretofore have, and hereafter shall, by his mercy and favor, and by his powerful arm,

be directed and conducted thither ; in the contemplation and serious consideration whereof, we have thought it fit, according to our kingly duty, so much as in us lieth, to second and follow God's sacred will, rendering reverend thanks to his Divine Majesty, for his gracious favor in laying open and revealing the same unto us, before any other christian prince or state ; by which means, without offence, and, as we trust, to his glory, we may with boldness go on to the settling of so hopeful a work, which tendeth to the reducing and conversion of such savages as remain wandering in desolation and distress, to civil society and christian religion, to the enlargement of our own dominions, and the advancement of the fortunes of such of our good subjects as shall willingly interest themselves in the said employment, to whom we cannot but give singular commendations for their so worthy intention and enterprise.

We, therefore, of our special grace, mere motion, and certain knowledge, by the advice of the lords and others of our privy council, have, for us, our heirs, and successors, granted, ordained, and established, and, in and by these presents, do, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant, ordain, and establish, that all that circuit, continent, precincts, and limits, in America, lying and being in breadth from forty degrees of northerly latitude from the equinoctial line, to fortyeight degrees of the said northerly latitude, and in length by all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main land, from sea to sea, with all the seas, rivers, islands, creeks, inlets, ports, and havens, within the degrees, precincts, and limits of the said latitude and longitude, shall be the limits, and bounds, and precincts of the said second colony.

And to the end that the said territories may forever hereafter be more particularly and certainly known and distinguished, our will and pleasure is, that the same shall.

from henceforth, be nominated, termed, and called by the name of New England, in America, and by that name of New England, in America, the said circuit, precinct, limit, continent, islands, and places in America aforesaid, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, name, call, erect, found, and establish, and by that name to have continuance forever.

And for the better plantation, ruling, and governing of the aforesaid New England, in America, we will, ordain, constitute, assign, limit, and appoint, and for us, our heirs, and successors, we, by the advice of the lords, and others of the said privy council, do, by these presents, ordain, constitute, limit, and appoint, that from henceforth there shall be forever hereafter, in our town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, one body politic and corporate, which shall have perpetual succession; which shall consist of the number of forty persons, and no more; which shall be, and shall be called and known by the name of the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England, in America, and for that purpose, we have, at and by the nomination and request of the said petitioners, granted, ordained, established, and confirmed, and, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant, ordain, establish, and confirm our right trusty and right well beloved cousins and counsellors, Lodowick, duke of Lenox, lord steward of our household; George, lord marquis Buckingham, our high admiral of England; James, marquis Hamilton; William, earl of Pembroke, lord chamberlain of our household; Thomas, earl of Arundel; and our right trusty and right well beloved cousin, William, earl of Bath; and our right trusty and right well beloved cousin and counsellor, Henry, earl of Southampton; and our right trusty and right well beloved cousins, William, earl of Salisbury, and Robert, earl of Warwick; and our

right trusty and right well beloved John, viscount Haddington ; and our right trusty and well beloved counsellor, Edward, Lord Zouch, lord warden of our cinque ports ; and our trusty and well beloved Edmond, lord Sheffield, Edward, lord Gorges ; and our well beloved Sir Edward Seymour, knight and baronet ; Sir Robert Mansel ; Sir Edward Zouch, our knight marshal ; Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Francis Popham, Sir John Brooks, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Richard Hawkins, Sir Richard Edgecomb, Sir Allen Apsley, Sir Warwick Heale, Sir Richard Catchmay, Sir John Bourghier, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Edward Giles, Sir Giles Mompesson, Sir Thomas Worth, knights ; and our well beloved Matthew Sutcliff, dean of Exeter ; Robert Heath, Esq. recorder of our city of London ; Henry Bourghier, John Drake, Raleigh Gilbert, George Chudley, Thomas Hamon, and John Argall, Esquires, to be, and in and by these presents, we do appoint them to be, the first modern and present council, established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England, in America ; and that they, and the survivors of them, and such as the survivors and survivor of them shall, from time to time, elect and choose to make up the aforesaid number of forty persons, when and as often as any of them, or any of their successors, shall happen to decease, or to be removed from being of the said council, shall be, and by these presents, incorporated, to have a perpetual succession forever, in deed, fact, and name, and shall be one body corporate and politic ; and that those, and such said persons, and their successors, and such as shall be elected and chosen to succeed them, as aforesaid, shall be, and, by these presents, are and be incorporated, named, and called by the name of the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England, in

America; and them, the said duke of Lenox, marquis Buckingham, marquis Hamilton, earl of Pembroke, earl of Arundel, earl of Bath, earl of Southampton, earl of Salisbury, earl of Warwick, viscount Haddington, lord Zouch, lord Sheffield, lord Gorges, Sir Edward Seymor, Sir Robert Mansel, Sir Edward Zouch, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Francis Popham, Sir John Brooks, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Richard Hawkins, Sir Richard Edgecomb, Sir Allen Apsley, Sir Warwick Heale, Sir Richard Catchmay, Sir John Bourghier, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Edward Giles, Sir Giles Mompesson, Sir Thomas Worth, knights; Matthew Sutcliff, Robert Heath, Henry Bourgehier, John Drake, Raleigh Gilbert, George Chudley, Thomas Hamon, and John Argall, Esquires, and their successors, one body corporate and politic, in deed and in name, by the name of the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England, in America.

We do, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, really and fully incorporate, erect, ordain, name, constitute, and establish, and that, by the same name of the said council, they, and their successors, forever hereafter be incorporated, named, and called, and shall, by the same name, have perpetual succession.

And further, we do hereby, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant unto the said council established at Plymouth, that they, and their successors, by the same name, be, and shall be, and shall continue persons able and capable in the law, from time to time, and shall, by that name of council aforesaid, have full power and authority, and lawful capacity and ability, as well to purchase, take, hold, receive, enjoy, and to have to them and their successors, forever, any manors, lands, tenements, rents,

royalties, privileges, immunities, reversions, annuities, hereditaments, goods, and chattels whatsoever, of, or from us, our heirs, and successors, and of, or from any other person or persons whatsoever, as well in and within this our realm of England, as in and within any other place or places whatsoever or wheresoever; and the same manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, goods, or chattels, or any of them, by the same name, to alien and sell, or to do, execute, or ordain and perform all other matters and things whatsoever, to the said incorporation and plantation concerning and belonging.

And further, our will and pleasure is, that the said council, for the time being, and their successors, shall have full power and lawful authority, by the name aforesaid, to sue and to be sued, implead and to be impleaded, answer and to be answered unto, in all manner of courts and places that now are, or hereafter shall be, within this our realm, and elsewhere, as well temporal as spiritual, in all manner of suits and matters whatsoever, and of what nature or kind soever such suits or actions be or shall be.

And our will and pleasure is, that the said forty persons, or the greater number of them, shall, and may, from time to time, and at any time hereafter, at their own will and pleasure, according to the laws, ordinances, and orders of, or by them, or by the greater part of them hereafter, in manner and form in these presents mentioned to be agreed upon, to elect and choose, amongst themselves, one of the said forty persons, for the time being, to be president of the said council, which president, so elected and chosen, we will shall continue and be president of the said council, for so long time as by the orders of the said council, from time to time to be made, as hereafter is mentioned, shall be thought fit, and no longer; unto which president, or, in his absence, to any such person as,

by the orders of the said council, shall be thereunto appointed, we do give authority to give order for the warning of the said council, and summoning the company to their meetings.

And our will and pleasure is, that, from time to time, when, and so often as any of the said council shall happen to decease, or to be removed from being of the said council, that then, and so often, the survivors of them of the said council, and no other, or the greater number of them, who then shall be, from time to time, left and remaining, and who shall, or the greater number of which that shall be assembled at a public court, or meeting, to be held for the said company, shall elect and choose one or more other person or persons, to be of the said council, and which, from time to time, shall be of the said council, so that the number of forty persons of the said council may, from time to time, be supplied.

Provided always, that as well the persons herein named to be of the said council, as every other counsellor hereafter to be elected, shall be presented to the lord chancellor of England, or to the lord high treasurer of England, or to the lord chamberlain of the household, of us, our heirs, and successors, for the time being, to take his and their oath and oaths, of a counsellor and counsellors, to us, our heirs, and successors, for the said company and colony in New England.

And further, we will and grant, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, unto the said council, and their successors, that they, and their successors, shall have and enjoy forever, a common seal, to be engraven according to their discretions.

And that it shall be lawful for them to appoint what other seal, or seals, they shall think most meet and necessary, either for their use, as they are one united body, in-

corporate here, or for the public use of their government and ministers in New England aforesaid, whereby the said incorporation may or shall seal any manner of instrument, touching the same corporation, and the manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, annuities, hereditaments, goods, chattels, affairs, and any other things, belonging unto, or in any wise appertaining, touching or concerning the said council, and their successors, or concerning the said corporation and plantation, in and by these our letters patents, as aforesaid, founded, erected, and established.

And we do further, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant unto the said council, and their successors, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said council, and their successors, for the time being, in their discretions, from time to time, to admit such and so many person and persons to be made free, and enabled to trade and traffic unto, within, and in New England, aforesaid, and unto every part and parcel thereof, or to have, possess, and enjoy any lands or hereditaments in New England, aforesaid, as they shall think fit, according to the laws, orders, constitutions, and ordinances, by the said council, and their successors, from time to time, to be made and established, by virtue of, and according to the true intent of these presents, and under such conditions, reservations, and agreements, as the said council shall set down, order, and direct, and not otherwise.

And further, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, for us, our heirs, and successors, we do, by these presents, give and grant full power and authority to the said council, and their successors, that the said council, for the time being, or the greater part of them, shall and may, from time to time, nominate, make, constitute, ordain, and confirm, by such name or names, style

or styles, as to them shall seem good, and, likewise, to revoke and discharge, change and alter, as well all and singular, governors, officers, and ministers, which hereafter shall be by them thought fit and needful to be made or used, as well to attend the business of the said company here, as for the government of the said colony and plantation.

And also, to make, ordain, and establish all manner of orders, laws, directions, instructions, forms, and ceremonies of government and magistracy, fit and necessary for and concerning the government of the said colony and plantation, so always as the same be not contrary to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England, and the same at all times hereafter, to abrogate, revoke, or change, not only within the precincts of the said colony, but also upon the seas, in going and coming to and from the said colony, as they, in their good discretion, shall think to be fittest for the good of the adventurers and inhabitants there.

And we do further, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, grant, declare, and ordain, that such principal governor as, from time to time, shall be authorized and appointed, in manner and form in these presents heretofore expressed, shall have full power and authority to use and exercise martial laws, in cases of rebellion, insurrection, and mutiny, in as large and ample manner, as our lieutenants in our counties within our realm of England, have, or ought to have, by force of their commission of lieutenancy.

And forasmuch as it shall be necessary for all such our loving subjects as shall inhabit within the said precincts of New England aforesaid, to determine to live together, in the fear and true worship of Almighty God, christian peace, and civil quietness, each with the other, whereby

every one may, with more safety, pleasure, and profit, enjoy that, whereunto they shall attain with great pain and peril.

We, for us, our heirs, and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and, by these presents, do give and grant unto the said council, and their successors, and to such governors, officers, and ministers, as shall be, by the said council, constituted and appointed according to the natures and limits of their offices and places respectively, that they shall and may, from time to time, forever hereafter, within the said precincts of New England, or in the way by the seas thither and from thence, have full and absolute power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule all such the subjects of us, our heirs, and successors, as shall, from time to time, adventure themselves in any voyage thither, or that shall, at any time hereafter, inhabit in the precincts and territories of the said colony as aforesaid, according to such laws, orders, ordinances, directions, and instructions, as by the said council aforesaid, shall be established; and, in defect thereof, in cases of necessity, according to the good discretions of the said governors and officers respectively, as well in cases capital and criminal as civil, both marine and others; so always as the said statutes, ordinances, and proceedings, as near as conveniently may be agreeable to the laws, statutes, government, and policy of this our realm of England.

And furthermore, if any person, or persons, adventurers, or planters, of the said colony, or any other, at any time or times hereafter, shall transport any monies, goods, or merchandizes, out of any our kingdoms, with a pretence and purpose to land, set, or otherwise to dispose the same, within the limits and bounds of the said colony, and yet, nevertheless, being at sea, or after he hath landed

within any part of the said colony, shall carry the same into any other foreign country, with a purpose there to set and dispose thereof, that then all the goods and chattels of the said person, or persons, so offending, and transported, together with the ship or vessel wherein such transportation was made, shall be forfeited to us, our heirs, and successors.

And we do further, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, for us, our heirs, and successors, for, and in respect of the considerations aforesaid, and for divers other good causes and considerations, us thereunto especially moving, and by the advice of the lords and others of our said privy council, have absolutely given, granted, and confirmed, and, by these presents, do absolutely give, grant, and confirm, unto the said council, called the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England, in America, and unto their successors, forever, all the aforesaid lands and grounds, continent, precincts, place, places, and territories, (viz.) the aforesaid part of America, lying and being in breadth from forty degrees of northerly latitude from the equinoctial line, to forty-eight degrees of the said northerly latitude inclusively, and in length of, and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main land, from sea to sea, together also with all the firm land, soils, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, waters, fishings, mines, and minerals, as well royal mines of gold and silver, as other mines and minerals, precious stones, quarries, and all and singular other commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and pre-eminences, both within the said tract of land, upon the main, and also within the said island and seas adjoining.

Provided always, that the said islands, or any of the premises herein before mentioned, and, by these presents,

intended and meant to be granted, be not actually possessed, or inhabited by any other christian prince or state, nor be within the bounds, limits, or territories of that southern colony, heretofore, by us, granted to be planted by divers of our loving subjects in the south parts.

To have and to hold, possess, and enjoy all and singular the aforesaid continent, lands, territories, islands, hereditaments, and precincts, sea waters, fishings, with all and all manner their commodities, royalties, liberties, preeminences, and profits, that shall arise from thence, with all and singular their appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof, and of them to, and unto the said council, and their successors, and assigns, forever, to the sole, only and proper use, benefit, and behoof of them, the said council, and their successors, and assigns, forever, to be holden of us, our heirs, and successors, as of our manor of East Greenwich, in our county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not *in capite*, nor by knights' services.

Yielding and paying, therefore, to us, our heirs, and successors, the fifth part of the ores of gold and silver which, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall happen to be found, gotten and obtained in, at, or within any the said lands, limits, territories, and precincts, or in, or within any part, or parcels thereof, for, or in respect of all and all manner of duties, demands, and services whatsoever, to be done, made, or paid to us, our heirs, and successors.

And we do further, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant to the said council, and their successors, forever, by these presents, that it shall be lawful and free for them, and their assigns, at all and every time and times hereafter, out of any our realms or dominions what-

sover, to take, lead, carry, and transport, in and into their voyages, and for and towards the said plantation in New England, all such and so many of our loving subjects, or any other strangers that will become our loving subjects, and live under our allegiance, or shall willingly accompany them in the said voyages and plantation, with shipping, armor, weapons, ordnances, munition powder, shot, victuals, and all manner of clothing, implements, furniture, beasts, cattle, horses, mares, and all other things necessary for the said plantation, and for their use and defence, and for trade with the people there, and in passing and returning to and fro, without paying or yielding any custom or subsidy, either inwards or outwards, to us, our heirs, or successors, for the same, for the space of seven years from the day of the date of these presents.

Provided, that none of the said persons be such as shall be hereafter, by special name, restrained by us, our heirs, or successors.

And, for their further encouragement, of our special grace and favor, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, yield and grant to, and with the said council, and their successors, and every of them, their factors and assigns, that they, and every of them, shall be free and quiet from all subsidies and customs, in New England, for the space of seven years, and from all taxes and impositions for the space of twenty and one years, upon all goods or merchandize, at any time or times hereafter, either upon importation thither, or exportation from thence, into our realm of England, or into any other our dominions, by the said council, and their successors, their deputies, factors, and assigns, or any of them, except only the five pounds per cent. due for custom upon all such goods and merchandizes as shall be brought or imported into our realm of England, or any other of our dominions, accord-

ing to the ancient trade of merchants ; which five pounds per centum only being paid, it shall be thenceforth lawful and free for the said adventurers, the same goods and merchandize, to export and carry out of our said dominions into foreign parts, without any custom, tax, or other duty, to be paid to us, our heirs, or successors, or to any other officers or ministers of us, our heirs and successors. Provided, that the said goods and merchandizes be shipped out within thirteen months after their first landing, within any part of those dominions.

And further, our will and pleasure is, and we do, by these presents, charge, command, warrant, and authorize the said council, and their successors, or the major part of them, which shall be present and assembled for that purpose, shall, from time to time, under their common seal, distribute, convey, assign, and set over such particular portions of lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as are, by these presents, formerly granted unto each our loving subjects, naturally born, or denizens, or others, as well adventurers as planters, as, by the said company, upon a commission of survey and distribution, executed and returned for that purpose, shall be named, appointed, and allowed, wherein our will and pleasure is, that respect be had, as well to the proportion of the adventurers, as to the special service, hazard, exploit, or merit, of any person so to be recompensed, advanced, or rewarded.

And we do also, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant to the said council, and their successors, and to all and every such governors, or other officers, or ministers, as, by the said council, shall be appointed, to have power and authority of government and command, in or over the said colony and plantation, that they, and every of them, shall, and lawfully may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, forever, for their several defence and

safety, encounter, expulse, repel, and resist, by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, and all ways and means whatsoever, all such person and persons as, without the special license of the said council, and their successors, or the greater part of them, shall attempt to inhabit within the said several precincts and limits of the said colony and plantation.

And also, all and every such person and persons whatsoever, as shall enterprise or attempt, at any time hereafter, destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance to the said colony and plantation.

And that it shall be lawful for the said council, and their successors, and every of them, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, and they shall have full power and authority to take and surprise, by all ways and means whatsoever, all and every such person or persons whatsoever, with their ships, goods, and other furniture, trafficking in any harbor, creek, or place, within the limits and precincts of the said colony and plantation, and not being allowed by the said council to be adventurers or planters of the said colony.

And of our further royal favor, we have granted, and for us, our heirs, and successors, we do grant unto the said council, and their successors, that the said territories, lands, rivers, and places aforesaid, or any of them, shall not be visited, frequented, or traded unto by any other of our subjects, or the subjects of us, our heirs, or successors, either from any of the ports and havens, belonging, or appertaining, or which shall belong or appertain unto us, our heirs, or successors, or to any foreign prince, state, or potentate whatsoever.

And therefore, we do hereby, for us, our heirs, and successors, charge, command, prohibit, and forbid all the subjects of us, our heirs, and successors, of what degree

or quality soever they be, that none of them, directly or indirectly presume to visit, frequent, trade, or adventure to traffic into, or from the said territories, lands, rivers, and places aforesaid, or any of them, other than the said council, and their successors, factors, deputies, and assigns, unless it be with the license and consent of the said council and company, first had and obtained in writing, under their common seal, upon pain of our indignation, and imprisonment of their bodies, during the pleasure of us, our heirs, or successors, and the forfeiture and loss, both of their ship and goods, wheresoever they shall be found, either within any of our kingdoms or dominions, or any the place or places out of our dominions, and for the better effecting of our said pleasure herein, we do hereby, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant full power and authority unto the said council, and their successors, for the time being, that they, by themselves, their factors, deputies, or assigns, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, attach, arrest, take, and seize all and all manner of ship and ships, goods, wares, and merchandizes whatsoever, which shall be brought from, or carried to the places before mentioned, or any of them, contrary to our will and pleasure, before in these presents expressed, the moiety, or one half of all which forfeitures, we do hereby, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant unto the said council, and their successors, to their own proper use, without accompt, and the other moiety, or half part thereof, we will shall be and remain to the use of us, our heirs, and successors.

And we, likewise, have condescended and granted, and, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do condescend, and grant to, and with the said council, and their successors, that we, our heirs, or successors, shall not, or will not, give and grant any liberty, license, or

authority to any person or persons whatsoever, to sail, trade, or traffic unto the aforesaid plantations of New England, without the good will and liking of the said council, or the greater part of them, for the time being, at any their courts to be assembled.

And we do, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant unto the said council, and their successors, that whensoever, or so often as any custom or subsidy shall grow due or payable, unto us, our heirs, or successors, according to the limitation and appointment aforesaid, by reason of any goods, wares, or merchandize, to be shipped out, or any return to be made, of any goods, wares, or merchandize, unto, or from New England, or any the lands or territories aforesaid, that then, so often, and in such case, the farmers, customers, and officers of our customs of England and Ireland, and every of them, for the time being, upon request made unto them by the said council, their successors, factors, or assigns, and upon convenient security to be given in that behalf, shall give and allow unto the said council, and their successors, and to all person and persons free of the said company as aforesaid, six months time, for the payment of the one half of all such customs and subsidy, as shall be due and payable unto us, our heirs, and successors, for the same; for which these, our letters patents, or the duplicate, or the enrolment thereof, shall be, unto our said officers, a sufficient warrant and discharge.

Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, that, if any of the said goods, wares, and merchandizes, which be, or shall be, at any time hereafter, landed and exported out of any our realms aforesaid, and shall be shipped with a purpose not to be carried to New England aforesaid, that then such payment, duty, custom, imposition, or forfeiture, shall be paid and belong to us, our heirs, and successors, for the said goods, wares, and merchandizes, so fraudu-

lently sought to be transported, as if this our grant had not been made nor granted.

And we do, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant unto the said council, and their successors, forever, by these presents, that the said president of the said company, or his deputy, for the time being, or any two others of the said council, for the said colony in New England, for the time being, shall and may, at all times hereafter, and from time to time, have full power and authority to minister, and give the oath and oaths of allegiance and supremacy, or either of them, to all and every person and persons, which shall, at any time and times hereafter, go and pass to the said colony in New England.

And further, that it shall be, likewise, lawful for the said president, or his deputy, for the time being, or any two others of the said council, for the said colony in New England, for the time being, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to minister such a formal oath, as by their discretions shall be reasonably devised, as well unto any person or persons employed, or to be employed in, for, or touching the said plantation, for their honest, faithful, and just discharge of their service, in all such matters as shall be committed unto them, for the good and benefit of the said company, colony, and plantation, as also unto such other person or persons as the said president, or his deputy, with two others of the said council, shall think meet, for the examination or clearing of the truth; in any cause whatsoever concerning the said plantation, or any business from thence proceeding, or thereunto belonging.

And to the end that no lewd or ill disposed persons, sailors, soldiers, artificers, husbandmen, laborers, or others which shall receive wares, apparel, or other entertainment from the said council, or contract and agree with the said council, to go, and to serve, and to be employed in the

said plantation, in the colony in New England, do afterwards withdraw, hide, and conceal themselves, or refuse to go thither, after they have been so entertained and agreed withal, and that no persons which shall be sent and employed in the said plantation of the said colony in New England, upon the charge of the said council, do misbehave themselves by mutinous, seditious, or other notorious misdemeanors, or which shall be employed, or sent abroad by the governor of New England, or his deputy, with any ship or pinnace, for provision of the said colony, or for some discovery, or other business and affairs concerning the same, do, from thence, treacherously either come back again, or return into the realm of England, by stealth, or without license of the governor of the said colony in New England, for the time being, or be sent hither as misdoers or offenders, and that none of those persons, after their return from thence, being questioned by the said council here for such their misbehaviors and offences, do, by insolent and contemptuous carriage, in the presence of the said council, shew little respect and reverence, either to the place or authority in which we have placed and appointed them, and others, for the clearing of their lewdness and misdemeanors, committed in New England, divulge vile and slanderous reports of the country of New England, or of the government or estate of the said plantation and colony, to bring the said voyages and plantation into disgrace and contempt, by means whereof, not only the adventurers and planters already engaged in the said plantation, may be exceedingly abused, and hindered, and a great number of our loving and well disposed subjects, otherwise well affected, and inclined to join and adventure in so noble a christian and worthy an action, may be discouraged from the same, but also the enterprise itself, may be overthrown,

which cannot miscarry, without some dishonor to us and our kingdom.

We, therefore, for preventing of so great and enormous abuses and misdemeanors, do, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant unto the said president, or his deputy, or such other person, or persons, as, by the orders of the said council, shall be appointed, by warrant, under his or their hand or hands, to send for, or cause to be apprehended, all and every such person and persons, who shall be noted, or accused, or found, at any time or times hereafter, to offend, or misbehave themselves, in any the affairs before mentioned and expressed; and, upon the examination of any such offender or offenders, and just proof, made by oath, taken before the said council, of any such notorious misdemeanors, by them to be committed, as aforesaid, and also, upon any insolent, contemptuous, or unreverent carriage, or misbehavior, to, or against the said council, to be shewed or used, by any such person or persons, so called, convinced, and appearing before them, as aforesaid, that, in all such cases, our said council, or any two, or more of them, for the time being, shall, and may have full power and authority, either here to bind them over with good securities for their good behavior, and further therein to proceed, to all intents and purposes, as it is used in other like cases within our realm of England, or else, at their discretions, to remand and send back the said offenders, or any of them, to the said colony of New England, there to be proceeded against and punished, as the governors, deputy, or council there, for the time being, shall think meet, or otherwise, according to such laws and ordinances, as are, and shall be in use there, for the well ordering and good government of the said colony.

And our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare, to all christian kings, princes, and states, that, if any

person or persons, which shall hereafter be of the said colony or plantation, or any other, by license or appointment of the said council, or their successors, or otherwise, shall, at any time or times hereafter, rob, or spoil, by sea or by land, or do any hurt, violence, or unlawful hostility, to any of the subjects of us, our heirs, or successors, or any of the subjects of any king, prince, ruler, or governor, or state, being then in league and amity with us, our heirs, and successors; and that, upon such injury, or upon just complaint of such prince, ruler, governor, or state, or their subjects, we, our heirs, or successors, shall make open proclamation, within any of the parts of our realm of England commodious for that purpose, that the person or persons having committed any such robbery or spoil, shall, within the time limited by such a proclamation, make full restitution or satisfaction of all such injuries done, so as the said princes, or others so complaining, may hold themselves fully satisfied and contented; and if that the said person or persons, having committed such robbery or spoil, shall not make, or cause to be made, satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to be limited, that then it shall be lawful for us, our heirs, and successors, to put the said person or persons out of our allegiance and protection, and that it shall be lawful and free for all princes to prosecute with hostility the said offenders, and every of them, their and every of their procurers, aiders, abettors, and comforters in that behalf.

Also, we do, for us, our heirs, and successors, declare, by these presents, that all and every the persons being our subjects, which shall go and inhabit within the said colony and plantation, and every of their children and posterity, which shall happen to be born within the limits thereof, shall have and enjoy all liberties, and franchises, and immunities of free denizens and natural subjects, with any of our other dominions, to all intents and purposes,

as if they had been abiding, and born within this our kingdom of England, or any other our dominions.

And lastly, because the principal effect which we can desire, or expect of this action, is the conversion of, and reduction of the people in those parts, unto the true worship of God and christian religion, in which respect we would be loath that any person should be permitted to pass, that we suspected to affect the superstition of the church of Rome, we do hereby declare, that it is our will and pleasure, that none be permitted to pass in any voyage, from time to time to be made into the said country, but such as shall first have taken the oath of supremacy; for which purpose, we do, by these presents, give full power and authority to the president of the said council, to tender and exhibit the said oath to all such persons as shall, at any time, be sent and employed in the said voyage.

And we also, for us, our heirs, and successors, do covenant and grant to, and with the council, and their successors, by these presents, that if the council, for the time being, and their successors, or any of them, shall, at any time or times hereafter, upon any doubt which they shall conceive, concerning the strength or validity in law, of this our present grant, or be desirous to have the same renewed and confirmed by us, our heirs, and successors, with amendments of such imperfections and defects, as shall appear fit and necessary to the said council, or their successors, to be reformed and amended, on the behalf of us, our heirs, and successors, and for the furthering of the plantation and government, or the increase, continuing, and flourishing thereof, that then, upon the humble petition of the said council, for the time being, and their successors, to us, our heirs, and successors, we, our heirs, and successors, shall and will, forthwith, make and pass, under

the great seal of England, to the said council, and their successors, such further and better assurance of all and singular the lands, grounds, royalties, privileges, and premises aforesaid, granted, or intended to be granted, according to our true intent and meaning, in these our letters patents, signified, declared, or mentioned, as by the learned council of us, our heirs, and successors, and of the said company, and their successors, shall, in that behalf, be reasonably devised or advised.

And further, our will and pleasure is, that, in all questions and doubts, that shall arise upon any difficulty of construction or interpretation of anything contained in these our letters patents, the same shall be taken and interpreted, in most ample and beneficial manner, for the said council, and their successors, and every member thereof.

And we do further, for us, our heirs, and successors, charge and command all and singular admirals, vice admirals, generals, commanders, captains, justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, customers, comptrollers, waiters, searchers, and all the officers of us, our heirs, and successors whatsoever, to be, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, in all things aiding, helping, and assisting unto the said council, and their successors, and unto every of them, upon request and requests, by them to be made, in all matters and things, for the furtherance and accomplishment of all or any the matters and things by us, in, and by these our letters patents, given, granted, and provided, or by us meant or intended to be given, granted, and provided, as they, our said officer, and the officers of us, our heirs, and successors, do tender our pleasure, and will avoid the contrary, at their perils.

And also, we do, by these presents, ratify and confirm unto the said council, and their successors, all privileges,

franchises, liberties, and immunities, granted in our said former letters patents, and not in these our letters patents, revoked, altered, changed, or abridged, although expressed, mentioned, &c.—In witness, &c, witness ourself at Westminster, the third day of November, in the eighteenth year of our reign over England, &c.

It will be perceived that by this patent of November 3d, 1620, King James I. undertook to grant to the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, England, all the territory in North America included between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude. This grant included within its limits all that territory which now forms the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Upper and Lower Canada; and within the United States, the New England States, New York, the largest part of New Jersey, nearly the whole of Pennsylvania, and of the new Western States, the greater part of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, a small part of Missouri, the whole territory of Michigan, and a large tract of the wilderness extending to the Pacific ocean. Excepting therefrom however, such a part as should be 'actually possessed, or inhabited by any other christian prince, or state.'

A patent was granted by the council for trade, and for lands, in 1621, to John Peirce in trust for the use of the colony, as has been before related, which was signed by the duke of Lenox, the marquis of Hamilton, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and another.*

* Judge Davis in his valuable edition of Morton's memorial, has set forth at large, the terms and conditions of this patent, which were as follows:

‘It grants to the patentee and his associates, who are recited to have undertaken a plantation in New England, 100 acres of land for each person, if they should continue there three years; either at one or several times, or die in the

By this patent no territorial limits were defined, and it does not appear that any proceedings whatever were had on the part of the settlers under its authority.

Peirce afterwards in 1622, without their knowledge or consent, obtained a more ample patent in his own name, for which he paid £50, and under which he intended to establish a manorial court, and compel all the settlers to hold of him as lord of the manor, and with a view to enforce the privileges of his patent, he embarked for the colony in December, 1622, but disasters pursued him, and having been compelled to return twice, and being

mean season, after they should be shipped, with intent there to inhabit; the land to be taken and chosen in any place or places not inhabited or settled by any English, or by order of the council made choice of; and with the further allowance of 100 acres for every person sent by the undertakers, at their own expense, to the intended plantation, within the term of seven years, reserving a quit rent of 2s. for each 100 acres, to be paid to the president and council of New England, after the expiration of seven years. Fifteen hundred acres for every undertaker, are granted for the erection of churches, schools, hospitals, town houses, &c, and for the maintenance of magistrates, and officers. Free liberty of fishing on the coast, and in the bays, harbors, &c, of New England, is granted, and freedom of trade with England, or elsewhere, paying such duties, as the council were holden to pay: also privilege of trading with the savages, and to "hunt, hawk, fish, or fowl, in any place not inhabited by any English." There is covenant for further assurance, and after due survey of the lands located, within seven years, for enfeoffment and confirmation of the territory, by letters of incorporation, with authority to make laws, ordinances, and constitutions, for the rule and government of all persons belonging to the plantation. Authority is also given to defend the possessions and privileges granted, by force of arms, against all invaders and intruders, and when the lands granted should be planted, it is agreed that there shall be a further allowance and grant of 50 acres for each person transported and settled in the plantation. The patentees agree to cause a particular account to be rendered of all persons conveyed to the plantation, and "that they shall apply themselves and their labors, in a large and competent manner, to the planting, selling, making, and procuring of good and staple commodities, in and upon the said land granted unto them, as corn, and silk grass, hemp, flax, pitch, and tar, soap, ashes, and pot ashes, iron, clapboards, and other like materials."

both times in imminent danger of shipwreck, he became discouraged and relinquished his undertaking, and in consideration of £500, assigned his patent to the company.

Still the settlers were anxious to obtain a charter conferring more ample political powers, defining their limits, and placing them on the footing of the most favored English subjects. A patent was issued to William Bradford then the governor of Plymouth, and his associates, January 30th 1629, in the first year of the reign of King Charles, by which those powers and privileges were bestowed. To this patent the settlers were anxious to obtain the royal sanction, which the king promised to give, but delayed and finally refused to affix his signature to the instrument, and after waiting some years, probably to 1635 or 1636, they proceeded to settle the foundation of their government on a permanent basis, and defined particularly the powers of the governor and the assistants. In 1638 they transferred the power which was in the whole body of the freemen, to committees or deputies from the several towns in the colony, who assembled for the first time, June, 1639. On the 2d of March, 1640, Governor Bradford surrendered to the freemen the patent of the colony, which had been taken in his name, reserving three tracts, described in the instrument of assignment, for the 'purchasers or old comers.' The tracts reserved were the following: 'First from the bounds of Yarmouth, three miles to the eastward of Naemsketkitt, and from sea to sea, cross the neck of land; the second place of a place called Acconquesse, (alias Acokus) which lyeth in the bottom of the bay adjoining to the west side of Poynt Perill, and two miles to the western side of the said river, to another place called Acquissent river, which entereth at the western end of Nickatay, and two miles to the eastward thereof, and to extend eight miles up into the county:

13. 163

the third place from Sowamsett river to Patuckquett river, with Cansumpsett neck, which is the cheefe habitation of the Indians, and reserved for them to dwell upon, extending into the land eight miles through the whole breadth thereof.*

In this patent a tract of land was included on the Kennebeck river.

The general court at this time (probably) thought it expedient, (perhaps in consequence of the imperfection of their patent, which had never received the sanction of the crown,) to set forth their rights in a formal declaration, in which they carefully enumerated all their claims of title, and recited every circumstance which could be brought to strengthen it. As this declaration not only set forth the whole patent which was issued to Governor Bradford in 1629, but all the grounds on which they afterwards proceeded to act as an independent colony, and to grant the lands within its limits, its insertion in this work is not only proper but necessary for a right explanation of the manner in which titles to lands were derived in this territory.

A Declaration demonstrating the warrantable grounds and proceedings of the first associates of the Government of New Plymouth, in laying the first foundation of the Government in this jurisdiction, for making of laws and disposing of lands, and all such things as may conduce to the well being of this Corporation of New England.

Whereas John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, Isaac Allerton, and divers others,

* 'The first tract (says Judge Davis) is on Cape Cod, comprehending Eastham, Orleans, Brewster, and it is believed, Harwich and Chatham.

'The second tract is the present towns of Dartmouth, and New Bedford.'

The third tract the 'cheefe' residence of the Indians and reserved for them embraces Swansea and Rehoboth in Massachusetts, Barrington and Warren in Rhode Island, and perhaps Bristol.

the subjects of our late sovereign lord King James by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, who did in the eighteenth year of his reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the fiftyfourth, which was in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and twenty, undertake a voyage into that part of America called Virginia, or New England, thereunto adjoining, there to erect a plantation or colony of English, intending the glory of God, the enlargement of his Majesty's dominions, and the general good of the English nation.

And whereas, by the good providence of God, the said John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, Isaac Allerton, and their associates arrived in New England aforesaid, in the harbor of Cape Cod, or Paomett, situate and being in New England aforesaid, where all the first persons entered into a civil combination being the eleventh day of November, in the year aforementioned, as the subjects of our said sovereign lord the King to become a body politic, binding ourselves to observe such laws and ordinances, and obey such officers as from time to time should be made and chosen ; for the well ordering and guidance ; and thereupon by the favor of the Almighty began the first colony in New England, there being then no other within the said continent, at a place called by the natives Apaum, alias Patuxett, and by the English New Plymouth, all which lands being void of inhabitants, we the said John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, Isaac Allerton, and the rest of our associates entering into a league of peace with Massasoiet, since called Woosamequin, Prince or Sachem of these parts, he the said Massasoiet freely gave them all the lands adjacent to them, and their heirs forever, acknowledging himself content to become the subject of

our lord the King aforesaid, his heirs and successors, and taking protection of us the said John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, Isaac Allerton, and their associates the natural subjects of our sovereign lord the King aforesaid: but having no special letters patents for the said parts of New England, but only the general law and liberty of our consciences in the public worship of God wherever we should settle; being therefore now settled and requiring special license and commission from his majesty for the ordering of our affairs, under his gracious protection, had sundry commissions made and confirmed by his said majesty's council for New England, to John Peirce and his associates whose names we only made use of, and whose associates we were in the late happy and memorable reign of our sovereign lord King James:—But finding ourselves still straightened, and a willingness in the honorable council aforesaid to enlarge us, partly in regard of the many difficulties we had undergone, and partly in regard of the good service we had done, as well in relieving his majesty's subjects as otherwise, we procured a further enlargement under the name of William Bradford aforesaid and his associates, whose names we likewise used, and whose associates as formerly we still are, by virtue of which said letters patents liberty is given to us derivatory from our sovereign lord King Charles, bearing date the thirtieth of January 1629, being the first year of his reign of England, and Scotland, France and Ireland, &c, and signed by the right honorable Robert, earl of Warwick, in the behalf of his majesty's council for New England, and sealed with their common seal to frame and make orders, ordinances, and constitutions for the ordering, disposing, and governing of our persons, and distributing of our lands within the said limits.

To be holden of his majesty, his heirs and successors, as of his manor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not *in capite*, nor by knights service : viz.—all that part of America and tract and tracts of land that lyeth within or between a certain rivolett or rundelett commonly called Coahasset alias Conahasset towards the north, and the river called Narragansett river, towards the south, and the great western ocean towards the east, and within and between a straight line directly extending into the maine towards the west from the mouth of the said river called Narragansett river, to the utmost bounds and limits of a country or place in New England called Pocanaukett, alias Puckanakick, alias Sowamsett, westwards; and another like straight line extending itself directly from the mouth of the said river called Coahasset, alias Conabasset towards the west, so far up into the maine land westwards, to the utmost limits of the said place or country called Pocanaukett, alias Pocanaukick, alias Sowamsett, doth extend : together with the one half of the said river called Narragansett, and the said rivolett or rundelett, called Coahasset, alias Conahasset, and all lands, rivers, waters, havens, creeks, ports, fishings, fowlings, and all hereditaments, profits, commodities, and emoluments, whatsoever, situate, lying and being or arising within or between the said limits or bounds, or any of them :—

Furthermore, all that tract or part of land in New England, or part of America aforesaid, which lyeth within or between, and extending itself from the utmost limits of Cobbisecontee, alias Comaccecontee, which adjoins to the river of Kennebeck, alias Kenebekick, towards the western ocean, and a place called the falls at Nekaumkick, in America aforesaid ; and the space of fifteen English miles on each side of the river commonly called Kennebeck river,

that lyeth within the aforesaid bounds eastwards, westwards, and northwards, and southwards, last abovementioned, and all lands, grounds, soils, rivers, waters, fishings, hereditaments, and profits, whatsoever situate lying and being, arising, happening, or accruing within the said limits or bounds, or either of them, together with free ingress, egress, and regress, with ships, boats, shallops, and other vessels from the sea called the western ocean, to the river called Kennebeck, and from the said river to the same western ocean, together with all prerogatives, rights, royalties, and jurisdictions, privileges, franchises, liberties, and immunities, and also marine liberties, escheats, and casualties, (the admiralty jurisdiction excepted,) with all the interest, right, title, claim, and demand whatsoever, where the said council and their successors now have, or ought to have, or may have, or require hereafter, in or to any of the said tract or portion of lands hereby mentioned to be granted, or any the premises in as free, large, ample, and beneficial manner to all intents and constructions whatever, as the said council by virtue of his majesty's said letters patent may or can grant.

To have and to hold the said tract or tracts of land, and all and singular the premises abovementioned, to be granted with their and every of their appurtenances to the said William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns forever, to the only proper use and absolute behoofe of the said William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns forever, yielding and paying unto our sovereign lord the king, his heirs, and successors forever, one fifth part of the ore of the mines of gold and silver, and one other fifth thereof to the president and council, which shall be had, possessed and obtained within the precincts aforesaid for all services and demands whatsoever; allowing the said William Bradford,

his associates, and assigns, and every of them, his and their agents, tenants and servants, and all such as he or they shall send or employ about the said particular plantation; shall and may from time to time freely, lawfully go and return, trade or traffic as well with the English as any the natives within the precincts aforesaid, with liberty of fishing upon any part of the sea coast, and sea shores of any of the seas or islands adjacent, and not being inhabited and otherwise disposed of by order of said president and council, forbidding all others to traffic with the natives or inhabitants in any of the said limits without the special leave of the said William Bradford, his heirs, and associates, and allowing the said William Bradford, his heirs and associates to take, apprehend, seize, and make prize of all such their ships and goods, as shall attempt to inhabit, or trade with the salvage people as aforesaid.

Moreover, whereas in the first beginning of this colony divers merchants and others of the city of London, and elsewhere, adventured divers sums of money with the said John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster and the rest of their associates, on certain terms of partnership, to continue for the term of seven years, the said term being expired, the said plantation by reason of manifold losses, and crosses by sea and land, in the beginning of so great a work, being largely indebted, and no means to pay the said debts but by the sale of the whole, and the same being put upon sale, the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, Isaac Allerton and others our associates, the inhabitants of New Plymouth, and elsewhere, being loath to be deprived of our labor; bought the same for and in consideration of eighteen hundred pounds sterling, viz. all and singular the privileges, lands, goods, chattels, ordinance, ammunition, or whatsoever appertained to the said plantation, or the

adventurers, with all and singular the privileges thereunto belonging as appears by a deed between the said Isaac Allerton then agent for the said William Bradford and his associates on the one part, and John Pocock, Robert Keine, Edward Basse, James Shirley, and John Beauchamp on the other part, being thereunto requested by the said merchants, and the rest adventuring as aforesaid, as appears by a deed bearing date the sixth of November, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign lord, Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, et Anno Dom. 1627.

Be it known unto all men by these presents, that according to our first intents, and for the better effecting the glory of God,—the enlargement of the dominions of our said sovereign lord the king, and the special good of his subjects, by virtue as well of our combination aforesaid, as also the several grants by us procured in the name of John Peirce, and William Bradford, their heirs, and associates, together with our lawful right, in respect of our donation and purchase of the natives, and our full purchase of the adventurers before expressed, having given unto and allotted and assigned and granted to all and every them and theirs, whose name or names shall follow upon this public record such proportion or proportions of lands with all and singular the privileges thereunto belonging as aforesaid; to him or them, his or their heirs, or assigns successively forever:—to be holden as of his majesty, his manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not *in capite* nor by knight's service:—yielding and paying unto our said sovereign lord the king, his heirs, and successors forever, one fifth part of the ore of the mines of the gold and silver, and one other fifth part to the president and council, which shall be possessed and obtained as aforesaid.

And whatsoever lands are granted to any by the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, Isaac Allerton, or their heirs, or associates, as aforesaid, being acknowledged in public court, and brought to this book of records of the several inheritances of the subjects of our sovereign lord the king within this government.— It shall be lawful for the governor of New Plymouth (from time to time successively) to give under his hand and the common seal of the government, a copy of the said grant so recorded, confirming the said lands to him or them; his or their heirs, or assigns, forever, with the several bounds and limits of the same, which shall be sufficient evidence in law from time to time, and at all times for all intents and purposes, the said party or parties, his or their assigns forever.

To have and to hold the said portion of lands, so granted, bounded, and recorded, as aforesaid, with all and singular the appurtenances belonging thereunto; to the only proper and absolute use and behoof of the said party or parties, his or their heirs, or assigns forever.

It is unaccountable that the general court after this careful enumeration of the several titles to the lands and sovereignty of New Plymouth, namely, their original combination for civil government November 11th, 1620; the donation of Massasoiet, of Patuxet, and the lands adjacent; the two patents of Peirce; the final patent to William Bradford; the purchase from Pocock, Keine, Bass, Shirley, and Beauchamp, acting on the part of the adventurers, of all the trade and common property of the colony, should have omitted the mention of the great patent of New England to the council established at Plymouth, (England,) although they recite the very words of that patent so far as respects the grants of lands, which were

unquestionably copied from the great patent when the patent of 1629 was issued.

This great patent is the foundation of all the titles to land in New England. Under a patent derivatory from this, Massachusetts afterwards claimed a tract of land equal in breadth to the length of the western line of that state in the western territory of New York, which claim was compromised to the satisfaction of Massachusetts.

Connecticut on similar grounds, claimed a part of the territory called the Susquehannah country, and obtained the Connecticut Reserve in the state of Ohio.

CHAPTER X.

Settlement of Massachusetts.—First public execution in Plymouth.—Kindness of the Indians.—Mr Allerton becomes dissatisfied and leaves the colony.—Dispute with Massachusetts.—Narragansetts threaten Massasoiet.—Allerton's enmity.—Sir Christopher Gardner arrested, and Massachusetts and Plymouth brought into difficulty, but finally satisfy King Charles.—Edward Winslow elected Governor.—A trading house on Connecticut river erected.—Disputes with the Dutch and with Massachusetts.—Infectious fever.—Mr Collier arrives.—Thomas Prince elected Governor.—Capt. Stone seizes a Plymouth bark in Connecticut river.—Hocking killed at Kennebeck, and John Alden arrested at Boston and released.—Trade of Plymouth.—William Bradford again elected Governor.—Trading house at Penobscot captured by the French, and negotiation with Massachusetts for their dislodgment.—First Settlements in Connecticut.

1630. THE failure of Weston's attempt to settle Wessagusset in the summer of 1622, and the ill success of Gorges who renewed the attempt in September 1623, have been already related. Two of Gorges' company it is probable remained at Wessagusset, namely, Mr Jeffrey and Mr Burslem, (or Burseley) where they were joined by some families from Weymouth, (in England) in 1629, who gave to Wessagusset the name of Weymouth. Wollaston's settlement at Mount Wollaston, (afterwards Braintree now Quincy) shared the ill fortune of the two first, and was evacuated in 1628.

In 1624, John Oldham expelled from Plymouth, settled at Nantasket, (since called Hull) where Roger Conant and some others who were displeased with the proceedings at Plymouth, joined him. Oldham probably remained at

Nantasket until 1630, when he was at Watertown. Conant and some of the others in 1625 went to Cape Anne, and afterwards removed to Naumkeag, (of which he, together with John Woodbury, John Balch, and Peter Palfreys, were the first settlers in 1626.) About that time William Blackstone an Episcopalian Clergyman was the sole occupant of Shawmut, (Boston) where he had erected a cottage and planted an orchard. David Thompson who had removed from Piscataqua, occupied Thompson's Island in Boston Harbor, and Samuel Maverick who is represented by the ancient writers as a gentleman of the kindest and most courteous disposition, occupied Noddle's Island which he had fortified. Thomas Walford* a smith, was at Mishawum (Charlestown). Previous to 1628 these were all the settlers of Massachusetts, as far as can be ascertained.

On the 19th of March, 1627, the council for New England granted a patent for trade, soil, and planting, &c. to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicot, Simon Whetcomb, and their associates. This association was formed through the influence and exertions of Mr White, a puritan minister of Dorchester, (England,) whose object was to establish a religious colony of a faith pure and undefiled in New England.

A royal charter was obtained March 4, 1628, by the patentees and their associates.†

* The name of Thomas Walford appears in 1640, at Portsmouth, as a church warden.

† The associates were Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goff, Thomas Adams, John Brown, Samuel Brown, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pynchon, and George Foxcraft.

In September, 1628, John Endicot, one of the associates, with several others, amongst whom were Mr Gott, Mr Brackenbury, Capt. Trask, and three brothers of the name of Sprague, (Ralph, Richard, and William,) arrived at Naumkeag. Theirs was the first successful attempt to establish a permanent settlement in Massachusetts, and Endicot, although he was afterwards overshadowed by the high character of John Winthrop, may be considered the real founder of the colony.

At a meeting of the associates in the city of London, (April 30, 1629,) Endicot was elected governor of the plantation, and Francis Higginson, Samuel Skelton, and Francis Bright, three Puritan ministers, John Brown, Samuel Brown, Thomas Graves, and Samuel Sharp, were chosen a council. On the 24th of June, they, (with the exception of Endicot, who was already there,) and many others arrived at Naumkeag, which place they immediately called Salem. Shortly after, Thomas Graves and Mr Bright, went to Mishawum, and several joining them, they laid out and settled a town, which they called, in honor of the king, Charlestown. Ralph Smith, the other minister, who was sent to Salem, left that place and went to Nantasket, and afterwards to Plymouth, of which he became the first pastor, in 1629.

On the thirtieth of May, 1630, Warham, Maverick, Rossiter, and Ludlow, arrived at Nantasket. Taking a boat, they went up Charles river, and sat down at a place since called Watertown, but in a few days they were ordered to remove to Mattapan, (now Dorchester,) and there they commenced a settlement.

Between the twelfth of June and the thirtieth of July, (1630,) a fleet of eleven ships arrived from England, bringing over a great number of passengers; with them came the governor, the eminent John Winthrop. They

first settled at Charlestown, where Mr Bright, Mr Graves, and several others, had previously seated themselves, but not finding good water, Sir Richard Saltonstall and some others were induced to go up the river, and they settled Watertown.

The only person residing on the peninsula then called Shawmut, (now Boston,) was William Blackstone. The English at Charlestown, learning from him, that there was a spring of fine water there, and being cordially invited to come, Mr Johnson and some others went over and settled; the governor and most of the others soon followed; and the accidental advantage of a spring of good water transferred the metropolitan honors of New England from Charlestown to Boston.

Blackstone had been an Episcopalian clergyman in England, but disliking 'the power of the lords Bishops,' to escape from it, he abandoned his country. In 1634, his right and title to the peninsula of Shawmut, 'he having been the first European occupant,' was purchased by the inhabitants of Boston, each of them paying him 6s. and some of them more. In 1635, 'becoming discontented with the power of the Lord's brethren here,' he removed from Boston, to a place on Pawtucket river, (to which river his name has been transferred,) which afterwards fell within the corporate limits of the ancient Rehoboth, a part of the territory of Plymouth.

Before the end of the year, five other vessels arrived with passengers. The whole number who came over during this year, (1630,) was estimated at fifteen hundred.

Mr Pynchon settled beyond the neck, and founded the town of Roxbury, and in the same year, Cambridge, (at first called New Town,) and Medford, (then called Mystic,) were settled.

John Winthrop had been elected governor in England ; John Humphry deputy governor, who being at that time unable to come, his place was supplied by Thomas Dudley ; Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, John Endicott, Increase Nowell, William Vassall, William Pynchon, Roger Ludlow, Edward Rossiter, Thomas Sharp, John Revell, Matthew Cradock, Simon Bradstreet, Samuel Aldersy, John Venn, Sir Brian Jansen, William Coddington, and Thomas Adams, were elected assistants.

Mr Cradock, an eminent London merchant, Col. Venn, afterwards a member of the Long Parliament for the city of London, and Sir Brian Jansen, never came over.

The rank and circumstances of this second band of New England pilgrims were strikingly contrasted with those of the first. From the time of the emigration of Robinson's church to Holland, in 1608, a period of twentyone years had elapsed, during which the Puritans had been elevated from an humble sect, few in numbers, and alike destitute of wealth and learning, into a powerful party, already excited by the strongest impulses of political ambition, inflamed with controversy, and beginning to see in the prospective a throne in the dust, and a monarch in chains. The circle, originally so narrow, had enlarged itself to such an extent, that it threatened, at no distant period, to embrace three powerful kingdoms. The puritans were persecuted and oppressed, and the crown assumed all the terrors of the prerogative, but they never quailed from the contest, and so successful had they been, that they already began to feel that rancour of political rivalry, which springs from an equality of political power, and to look forward without dread to the time when their 'swords would be measured with their antagonists' in the field. Their characters were more elevated, but their dispositions were less kindly, and their tempers more aus-

tere, sour, and domineering, than those of their Plymouth brethren. They had brought themselves to a positive conviction of their own evangelical purity and perfect godliness, and therefore they tolerated not even the slightest difference in theological opinions. They had almost reached that degree of enthusiasm, when, without regret, they would have dragged a 'malignant' to the scaffold, or have gone to it themselves, without fear. The flowers of literature had begun to bloom amongst the thorns of polemic divinity, and rank and wealth were embraced in their connection. Governor Winthrop was a gentleman of fortune, and was descended from a lawyer, eminent in the reign of Henry VIII. Humphry and Johnson, also men of fortune, had married two sisters, daughters of the Earl of Lincoln, the root of the present ducal house of Newcastle. Dudley had been a captain of the English Auxiliaries which served with the armies of Henry IV. of France. Sir Richard Saltonstall was the son of Sir Richard Saltonstall, lord-mayor of London, in 1597, who was descended from an ancient and honorable family in Yorkshire. Nowell was the nephew of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Vassall, who still remained an Episcopalian, and Coddington, afterwards a large proprietor of Barbadoes and of Barbuda, in the West Indies, were men of family and fortune. Bradstreet had been educated at Cambridge university. Pynchon, the founder of Roxbury, and afterwards of Springfield, was a gentleman of extensive learning and acquirements. Many of the ministers were of no less consideration. Bulkley, the minister of Concord, was of an honorable family in Bedfordshire. Whiting, the minister of Lynn, married a daughter of Oliver St John, and Sherman, minister of Watertown, married a granddaughter of the Earl of Rivers. Many of them possessed

large estates, and were accustomed to all the refinements of polished society. Many gentlemen of rank and fortune followed the first emigrants. Sir Henry Vane first displayed his wily and subtle disposition, and his profound genius for politics in the controversies of Massachusetts, and nothing but that disastrous fate which seemed to influence all the acts of Charles I. prevented this humble colony from being the theatre to which the prodigious energies of Hampden, Cromwell, Hazelrig, and Pym would have been confined, for they had actually embarked, but were compelled to return by a royal order.

The Plymouth Colonists of humbler rank, and less excited, from having been so long removed from the scene of controversy in England, were more tolerant and mild, and although much swayed by the influence of their domineering neighbors, to whom, on all great occasions, they seemed to defer, were never led into these horrible excesses of fanaticism which disgrace the early annals of Massachusetts.

The subsequent conduct of the colonies in their intercourse with each other,—the arrogance of Massachusetts, and the profound respect with which she was always treated by Plymouth, may, in some degree, be traced to the difference of the colonists of each in rank, and wealth. Massachusetts at times assuming a superiority, was, however, except on one or two occasions, just to Plymouth, and frequently generous.

In October, the colonists of Plymouth were compelled to endure the grievous sight of a public execution.

One John Billington, a Londoner, a profane and profligate young man, who had been accidentally admitted into the company, waylaid and shot John Newcomen, in revenge for some injury or insult.

The trial was conducted with great care and caution. Billington was found guilty both by the grand and petit jury, but the court for some time doubted their authority to inflict the punishment of death, inasmuch as the council from whom their authority was derived, had no such power themselves.

The advice of governor Winthrop, and of the ablest men of Massachusetts Bay, was sought, and it was the universal opinion that the murderer 'ought to die, and the land be purged of blood.' This was the first execution in the colony.

An accident happened, which served to shew the extreme kindness of feeling which at this time prevailed amongst the Indians towards the English. Richard Garrett and several others from Boston were shipwrecked on Cape Cod. Some of them died of their hardships. The Indians buried the dead with much difficulty, the ground being hard frozen, and literally nursed the survivors back to life; and after curing and strengthening them, secured the remains of their dead companions against wild beasts, and then guided them fifty miles through the woods to Plymouth.

1631. Mr Hatherly and Mr Allerton went as passengers in the *White Angel*, which sailed for England, September 6.

Mr Allerton having lost the confidence of the colony, was no longer employed as their agent. The cause of their dissatisfaction does not fully appear. The Leyden people had taken up some prejudices against him; the colony complained that too much money had been lavished by him and Mr Shirley to obtain a royal charter. As an agent, he appears to have been indefatigable in his attempts to promote the interests of his employers. He

was a person of uncommon activity, address, and enterprise. He left the colony, and it is supposed that after attempting some commercial enterprises at the eastward, he resided for a time at the Dutch colony of New Netherlands, and afterwards at New Haven, where it is supposed he was in 1653. Governor Hutchinson says that he finally returned to England, and that his male posterity settled in Maryland.

On the 17th of November, Governor Bradford visited Boston :—previous to this visit, Plymouth and Massachusetts had been on the eve of a quarrel respecting the traffic which was carried on by the latter for corn with the Indians on Cape Cod. The governor of Plymouth finding the Salem pinnace driven into Plymouth harbor by distress, and laden with corn which had been purchased of the natives, forbade the traffic, which he declared he was determined to interrupt by force, if they persisted. A correspondence took place between the Governors, and after this visit to Boston, the dispute subsided.

1632. In April, Massasoiet who was now called Ossamequin,* having been assaulted by the Narragansetts, fled for refuge to an English house at Sowams. Intelligence of this having been received at Plymouth, Standish was immediately despatched thither. There being but three Englishmen in the house, Standish sent a messenger to Plymouth to urge the governor to send a force instantly, and ammunition and provisions sufficient to enable them to hold out, as they were apprehensive that Caunonicus the great sachem of the Narragansetts, would attack them with all his force. There being no ammunition at that time at Plymouth, application was made to Governor Winthrop, who sent a messenger on foot, (there being then

* The Indians frequently changed their names.

but few horses in New England) who carried 27 pounds taken from the governor's own store.— But the Narragansetts having learned that the Pequots had attacked their country, retired from Sowams without doing any injury. It is not a little surprising that this act of Governor Winthrop was afterwards urged against him as an offence by Dudley, the deputy governor of Massachusetts. During the year suspicions were again excited respecting a conspiracy amongst the Indians, but they soon died away.

On the 5th of June, Edward Winslow arrived at Boston from England. Mr Hatherly also arrived in the course of the month with a view to remain in the country.

Allerton now inimical to Plymouth, formed a trading company, hired the *White Angel* of Mr Shirley, and attempted to establish a rival house on the Kennebeck river. He also attempted to deprive Plymouth of the trade at Penobscot, by establishing another house there, but the French in 1633 attacked the house at Penobscot, killed two of his men, despoiled them of all their goods and sent the remainder prisoners to France.

This year the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth fell into some trouble by reason of a petition to the King and council, from Sir Christopher Gardner, Thomas Morton, and Philip Ratcliff,* who were instigated as it was supposed, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Captain Mason, who were desirous of having a general government established over New England.

Gardner was a man of rank, (he had been created a knight of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem,) allied to the celebrated Gardner, bishop of Winchester, and a concealed papist.

* Ratcliff had been a servant of Mr Cradock, and had suffered punishment at Boston; whipping, loss of ears, and banishment, for his invectives against the churches and government.—*Winthrop's Journal*.

He came first into the colony of Massachusetts attended by one or two servants, and pretended that he had forsaken the world, and desired to lead a godly life in privacy and retirement, and disdained no employment however humble. He made application to several churches to be admitted as a member, but having with him a 'comely young woman,' whom he called his cousin, but who was suspected to be his mistress, they refused him.

Having been accused of having two wives in England, the government of Massachusetts endeavored to apprehend him, but hearing of the accusation, he escaped into the jurisdiction of Plymouth, and there lived awhile amongst the Indians. The Namasket Indians with whom he lived, gave information of his residence to Governor Bradford, and he authorised them to take him and to convey him to Plymouth, but expressly forbade them to do him any injury. They finding a favorable opportunity, seized and bound, him and conducted him to the governor, by whom he was kindly used.* Governor Winthrop was informed of his apprehension, and he caused him to be brought to Boston as a prisoner, and immediately sent him to England, but directed that he should be treated respectfully on account of his quality.

In the petition both colonies were charged with intended rebellion. It was alleged that they had cast off their allegiance, 'and meant to be wholly separate from the church and laws of England, and that their ministers and

* The Indians discovering him near a river, set upon him; but reaching a canoe which lay in the stream, he stood on the defensive, and being armed with a musket and rapier, kept them at bay; the current however, dashing his canoe against a rock it was upset, and he lost both gun and rapier in the water. He then drew a small dagger, and the Indians unwilling to injure him, or to receive injury from him, would not close with him, but seizing some long poles beat his dagger out of his hands, and he yielded.

people did continually rail against the state, the church, and the bishops.’

Mr Cradock, together with Sir Richard Saltonstall, and Mr Humphrey, who were then in England, were called before the council to answer the accusation, which they did in writing. So satisfactory was their defence, that the committee of the council reported both to the lords and the king so much in commendation of the colonies, that King Charles was pleased to say, ‘ that he would have them severely punished who did abuse his government and plantation.’ The defendants were dismissed with a favorable order for their encouragement.*—And they were also

* At the court at Whitehall, January 19, 1632.

Sigillum Crescent	Lord Cottington
Lord Privy Seal	Mr Treasurer
Earl of Dorset	Mr Vice Chamberlain
Lord Viscount Falkland	Mr Secretary Cook
Lord Bishop of London	Mr Secretary Windebank.

Whereas his majesty hath lately been informed of great distraction and much disorder in the plantations in the parts of America called New England, which if they be true, and suffered to run on, would tend to the dishonor of this kingdom, and utter ruin of that plantation; for prevention whereof, and for the orderly settling of government, according to the intention of those patents which have been granted by his Majesty, and from his late royal father King James; it hath pleased his majesty that the lords and others of his most honorable privy council should take the same into consideration; their lordships in the first place, thought fit to make a committee of this board, to take examination of the matters informed; which committee having called divers of the principal adventurers in that plantation, and heard those that are complainants against them; most of the things informed being denied, and resting to be proved by parties that must be called from that place, which required a long expense of time, and at present their lordships finding they were upon despatch of men, victuals, and merchandize for that place, all which would be at a stand if the adventurers should have discouragement, or take suspicion that the state here had no good opinion of that plantation; their lordships not laying the fault or fancies (if any be) of some particular men upon the general government or principal adventurers, which in due time is to be inquired into; have thought fit, in the mean time, to declare that the appearances were so fair, and hopes so great, that the country would prove both beneficial to the kingdom, and profitable to the particulars, as that the

assured by some of the council that his majesty 'did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the church of England upon them,' for it was considered that the freedom of religion was one of the principal causes of emigration to New England, and that it was a favorite object of the government to strengthen New England, because if the Baltic was closed against England, their masts and cordage must come from New England.

1633. At the annual election, Governor Bradford, having now been chosen to the office of governor twelve years in succession, desirous of being relieved from its cares, importuned the people with so much earnestness, that they consented to release him, and Edward Winslow was chosen his successor.

Bradford was chosen the first assistant or deputy governor, and the number of assistants was increased from five to seven. Capt. Standish, John Howland, John Alden, John Doane, Stephen Hopkins, and William Gilson, were also elected assistants.

A singular law had been enacted in the preceding year, (1632.) Any person chosen to the office of governor, and refusing it, was to be fined £20; a counsellor or magistrate chosen, and refusing the office, was to be fined £10.

This year was remarkable for an invasion of locusts, (probably grasshoppers,) who, emerging from the earth, destroyed every green thing before them.

adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when the patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patents it is appointed, his majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply anything further that might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of his people there of that place, &c.

WILLIAM TRUMBALL.

About this time, the disputes with the Dutch respecting the trade of Connecticut river, commenced.

The Dutch, in their trading intercourse with Plymouth, had communicated some information of a fine river, which extended far into the country, to which they had given the name of Fresh river, but which was called by the natives, Quonektacut. They represented the lands which lay upon the river as well adapted to planting, and the river as convenient for trade, and they urged the people of Plymouth, with much earnestness, to commence a trading intercourse with the natives; but not being willing, at that time, to extend the sphere of their commercial operations, they neglected the advice.

The Dutch then being feeble in strength and few in numbers, probably reckoned upon the assistance of the English, should they become involved in any serious difficulties with the natives.

Some Indians who dwelled upon this river, being driven from their homes by the Pequots, who usurped their lands, solicited the English with much entreaty, to establish a trading house there, in the hope that through their intervention they might be restored to their homes.

The people of Plymouth were induced to fit and send out some trading expeditions to this place, and they found the representations of the Dutch and the Indians to be true. They had great success in their traffic, but still were unwilling to venture upon the establishment of a trading house.

The Indians who had been expelled, anxious to be restored, then solicited the government of Massachusetts to undertake the same enterprise, but their solicitations were not heeded by the governor. Some of the principal individuals of Massachusetts, however, having some in-

clination to engage in this enterprise, proposed to the people of Plymouth a conference at Boston, to agree upon the terms of a copartnership.

A distinct proposition having been submitted at this meeting, that a trading house should be established on this river to anticipate the Dutch,—to shew that this proposition was inexpedient, it was urged that the country was inhabited by three or four thousand warlike Indians; that the mouth of the river was made difficult of access by a bar; and that for seven months in a year it was not free from ice. Discouraged by these representations, the agents on the part of Massachusetts became indifferent, and declared themselves unwilling to engage in the project. Upon hearing this, Governor Winslow and Governor Bradford expressed a determination to persevere, and at the same time a hope, that inasmuch as they were unwilling to adventure without their approbation, they should not incur the displeasure of their brethren of Massachusetts, if they attempted the enterprise with their own means, and received from the agents of Massachusetts the strongest assurances of consent and approbation.

The Dutch, upon learning this determination of the people of Plymouth, repented of their previous invitations, and now thinking themselves sufficiently strong for self-defence, resolved to anticipate and to prevent them from pursuing this undertaking. For this purpose, they forthwith despatched an expedition, which reached the mouth of the river a short time previous to the arrival of the English, and going up the river, their troops were disembarked at the place afterwards called Hartford. A house was hastily erected, and fortified with two pieces of ordnance, and the Dutch gave out that they intended to dispute the passage of the English up the river.

The English adventurers having been ordered to seat themselves on the river above the Dutch, prepared the frame of a house, and putting it on board their bark with the necessary materials to put it together, and taking with them the Indians who had been expelled from Nattawanute,* (at which place they intended to establish themselves,) proceeded up the river, in despite both of the Dutch and the hostile Indians. The expedition was commanded by Lieutenant Holmes.

When they reached the spot where the Dutch had raised their national flag, they were hailed and questioned as to their intentions and destination. They replied that their destination was up the river, where they intended to trade. They were ordered to stop or to strike, and were threatened in case of disobedience with an attack, to which they replied that they acted by the direction of the governor of Plymouth, and that his order should be obeyed at every risk,—they had no intention to molest the Dutch, but they ‘would go on.’ The Dutch did not think proper to come to extremities, but suffered them to pass. They proceeded about a mile and then disembarked, erected their house, which they fortified, landed their provisions, and sent their bark home.

Intelligence of this affair was immediately sent to Manhattan.† A company of seventy men, well armed, was despatched forthwith to dispossess the English. They proceeded against the fort at Nattawanute in hostile array, with their colors flying, but apprehending the strength of the English to be greater than it really was, they came to a parley, and returned without committing hostilities. The Dutch had no rightful claim to the lands at Natta-

* Afterwards called Windsor.

† New York.

wanute, for the English, at the solicitation of the original native owners, had purchased them at a fair price. Nevertheless, their conduct was not, by any means, marked with that degree of violence and injustice towards the people of Plymouth, as was the subsequent conduct of their puritan brethren of Massachusetts.

In the summer of 1635, some of the people of Dorchester in that colony, emigrated to the Connecticut river, and seated themselves on the lands claimed by Plymouth, near the fort. Governor Bradford complained of their injustice, as the lands there had been obtained by fair purchase, which was followed by occupancy and possession, and their claim had been strengthened by their resistance to the pretensions of the Dutch; but notwithstanding they had been more injuriously treated by their Massachusetts brethren than by the Indians or Dutch, by whom they had never been molested after they had made their establishment permanent. After repeated unsuccessful remonstrances, Governor Winslow visited Boston in person to claim redress. Plymouth, averse to a quarrel, offered to accept a sixteenth part of the lands and £100 as a full compensation, but such was the encroaching and domineering spirit of Massachusetts, that even this imperfect justice was refused; but the equity of the Plymouth claim was so apparent, that Massachusetts was afterwards induced to give them £50, Plymouth retaining forty acres of meadow or interval land and a large tract of upland, with which this large and just claim was finally quieted. Massachusetts, sensible of her own injustice, could offer no reasonable objection to the claim of Plymouth, yet for a long time was it resisted, and was not finally compromised until many years had elapsed.

During this year, Plymouth was attacked with an infectious fever, of which twenty men and women, (besides children,) died. Amongst them was Samuel Fuller, their physician and surgeon, and a deacon of the church, a man of great practical usefulness. Thomas Blossom, one of the Leyden church, died.

William Collier, one of the adventurers and a great benefactor to the colony, came over, and was immediately employed in affairs of trust.

1634. Thomas Prince was chosen governor, Bradford was elected first assistant or deputy governor. Mr Doane and Mr Gilson were not re-elected assistants. Mr Doane supplied the place of Dr Fuller as deacon of the church. Governor Winslow and Mr Collier succeeded them as assistants; the other assistants were re-elected. The Indians during this year were sorely afflicted with the small pox, of which great numbers died.

One Captain Stone, a West Indian of St Christopher's, by intoxicating the governor of the Dutch fort on Connecticut river, obtained his leave to take a Plymouth bark which was lying there at anchor. The merchant and most of the men being on shore, he succeeded, and after weighing her anchor, set sail for Virginia, but some Dutch sailors who had received kind treatment at Plymouth discovering his design, pursued him with two vessels, and recaptured the bark.

Stone afterwards going to Massachusetts, was served with a process, and for the purpose of a compromise, he went to Plymouth. In a dispute with the governor he was so transported with rage, that he attempted to stab him,

but was prevented by the vigilance of the governor's attendants.*

Another act of violence was perpetrated at Kennebeck, within the limits of the Plymouth patent. A pinnace belonging to Lord Say and Sele, and commanded by one Hocking, sailed from Piscataqua into the Kennebeck, and he attempted to pass up the river for the purpose of trading with the natives. Two of the magistrates of Plymouth being there, forbade him; he persisted, and declaring that he would go up and trade with the natives in despite of them, and 'lye there as long as he pleased,' went on.

The Plymouth men pursued him in a boat, and after entreating him to depart, and receiving nothing but 'ill words' and positive refusals, finding his pinnace at anchor, two of them went in a canoe, cut one of the cables and attempted to cut the other; Hocking threatened to shoot them; they defied him, and persisted; he fired, and killed one. The pinnace having come up with five or six men on board, they fired on Hocking and killed him.

At the general court at Boston, (May 15,) upon complaint of a kinsman of Hocking, John Alden, one of the Plymouth magistrates present at this transaction, (then in Boston,) was arrested and held to bail, 'and withal (says Governor Winthrop,) we wrote to Plymouth to certify them what we had done, and to know whether they would do justice in the cause, (as belonging to their jurisdiction)

* Some time after the commission of this outrage, while lying in Connecticut river, in his vessel, asleep in the cabin, he together with one Capt. Norton were assailed by the Indians, and both were killed. Norton defended himself with great resolution, but having set out some powder on a table, it accidentally took fire and exploded, by which he was blinded and fell a prey to his assailants, who then succeeded in plundering the vessel. The murderers escaping, were harbored by the Pequot Indians, and this was one of the causes of the subsequent war with that tribe.

and to have a speedy answer,' &c. 'This we did, (continues the governor,) that notice might be taken, that we did disavow the said action, which was much condemned of all men, and which was feared would give occasion to the king to send a general governor over; and besides had brought us all and the gospel under a common reproach of cutting one another's throats for beaver.'

Governor Bradford, Governor Winslow, and Mr Smith, the pastor of Plymouth, held a conference at Boston with some of the magistrates and ministers of Massachusetts (amongst whom were Governor Winthrop, Mr Cotton, and Mr Wilson,) concerning this transaction. After they 'had sought the Lord,' they commenced the discussion. The cause of Plymouth was defended with much ability.—The question involved their right of exclusive trade.—The Plymouth conferees contended that for this, they not only had the king's grant, 'but they had taken up this place as *vacuum domicilium*, and so had continued without interruption or claim of any of the natives for divers years.' They also strongly urged that the trade to the Kennebeck had been created by them, inasmuch, as they had introduced *wampumpeage* as an article of traffic, the use of which in commerce, they had been the first to discover and improve. Admitting that their servant did kill Hocking, it was done in self defence, and to save the lives of others whom he would have killed, 'yet, they acknowledged, that they did hold themselves under guilt of the breach of the sixth commandment, in that they did hazard man's life for such a cause, and did not rather wait to preserve their rights by other means, which they rather acknowledged, because they wished it were not done; and hereafter they would be careful to prevent the like.'

Governor Dudley, and Governor Winthrop both interested themselves in the exculpation of Plymouth, and to effect it, wrote friendly and interceding letters to England. Afterwards Governor Bradford and Mr Collier visited Boston on this affair, and wrote an ample account of it to Mr Wiggin, the overseer at Piscataqua.

Lord Say and Sele, and Lord Brook, who were interested in the plantation at Piscataqua, at first were much exasperated with Plymouth, but learning the exact truth were pacified.

It is not a little remarkable, that the arrogant spirit of Massachusetts should have displayed itself in such early infancy. Endicot indeed had deported himself somewhat arbitrarily at its very birth, by attacking Morton at Merry Mount, but Morton was considered as an outlaw.—But that a magistrate of the colony of Plymouth should be arrested while at Boston on his own concerns, and held to bail, for an offence committed within the jurisdiction of Plymouth, and that two conspicuous characters (both having been governors of the colony) and the minister, should have been obliged to visit Boston to defend their people against a charge, of which, Massachusetts then a government of scarcely four years standing, had no more jurisdiction than Virginia, almost ‘passes comprehension.’ The governor of Massachusetts, however, appears to have conducted equitably, and no other injustice was done to Plymouth, than to arrest one of their magistrates without the authority of law. The government of Plymouth generally sensitive as to their rights and dignity, appear always to have succumbed to Massachusetts, through fear perhaps of the strong influence which Massachusetts could make in England through the instrumentality of her leading men, who, were connected in England with persons of high rank.

Plymouth now transacted a large trade with the Dutch at New Netherlands, and with the natives of Kennebeck, and Connecticut river. At Kennebeck they exchanged the wampum which they obtained at Connecticut, for beaver, of which they shipped to England twenty hogsheads.*

1635. William Bradford was again called to the chair, and Edward Winslow was elected first assistant, or deputy governor. Governor Prince was chosen an assistant, and the other assistants were all reelected.

Winslow again visited England as the agent of the colony, and rendered good service to Massachusetts, against whom, complaints had been exhibited.

A trading house belonging to Plymouth at Penobscot was captured by the French, who took the goods, and gave bills on France for the payment. The governor despatched a vessel under the command of Mr Girling, to dispossess the French, but the latter having notice of the intended attack, prepared for defence, and refused to surrender. Application was then made to Massachusetts for assistance; their general court agreed to assist Plymouth both with men and munitions, but required that one duly authorized should be sent to treat with them as to the terms on which their assistance was to be rendered. ‘Resolving (says Governor Winthrop) to drive them out, whatsoever it should cost, (yet first to put them to bear

* Governor Winslow while on a trading excursion from Connecticut to Naragansett, left his bark at the latter place, meaning to go to Plymouth by land. Ossamequin (Massasoiet) offered to be his guide, but he despatched a messenger to Plymouth to inform the people that the governor was dead. This intelligence occasioned much grief and alarm. The next day appearing with the governor at Plymouth, he excused himself for the falsehood by saying that he knew that the belief of his death would make him more welcome when it was ascertained that he was alive.

the charge if it might be ;) for we saw their neighborhood would be very dangerous to us."

Governor Prince and Captain Standish on the part of Plymouth, meeting the commissioners of Massachusetts, insisted that the dislodgment of the French was an affair of as much interest to the latter colony as to Plymouth, and that it was but just that the expense of the expedition should be equally borne by the two colonies. The Massachusetts commissioners insisting that the whole expense should be borne by Plymouth, the negotiation terminated.

In the summer of this year, a settlement was made on Connecticut river by people who emigrated from Dorchester in Massachusetts, as has already been related.

Tradition says that some from Watertown had settled at Pyquag, (Wethersfield) the winter before. Mr Warham the minister of Dorchester followed.

Mr Hooker the minister of Cambridge, who had projected the settlement, Mr Stone, and about one hundred men, women, and children, settled at Newtown, (afterwards Hartford) the succeeding year 1636.

The fathers of Connecticut were John Haynes, who had been governor of Massachusetts, Roger Ludlow, Mr Hooker, and Mr Warham, the ministers of Cambridge and Dorchester, Mr Henry Wolcot, and Mr Thomas Wells, also ministers, Edward Hopkins, George Wyllys, ——— Whiting, William Phelps, Thomas Webster, Captain John Mason, William Swain, John Talcott, John Steel, ——— Mitchel, Thurston Rayner, Henry Smith, Andrew Ward, and John Deming.

About the time that the settlements commenced up the river, John Winthrop, junior, son of the governor of Massachusetts, under a commission from Lord Say and Sele, and Lord Brook, commenced a settlement at its mouth,

which, from the names of the patrons, was called Saybrook. David Gardner, and John Davenport, actively engaged in this project.*

* On the 15th of August, Plymouth was visited by a tremendous storm or hurricane, unparalleled until that of September, 1815. Morton says 'It began in the morning a little before day, and grew not by degrees, but came with great violence from the beginning, to the great amazement of many; It blew down sundry houses, and uncovered divers others: divers vessels were lost at sea in it, and many more were in extreme danger. It caused the sea to swell in some places to the southward of Plymouth, as that it rose to twenty feet right up and down, and made many of the Indians to climb into the trees for safety. It threw down all the corn to the ground, which never rose more, and the which through the mercy of God, it being near the harvest time, was not lost, though much the worse; and had the wind continued without stifling, in likelihood it would have drowned some part of the country. It blew down many hundreds thousands of trees, turning up the stronger by the roots, and breaking the high pine trees and such like, in the midst, and the tall young oaks, and walnut trees of good bigness, were wound as withes by it, very strange and fearful to behold. It began in the southeast, and veered sundry ways, but the greatest force of it at Plymouth, was from the former quarter, it continued not in extremity above five or six hours before the violence of it began to abate; the marks of it will remain this many years, in those parts where it was forest. The moon suffered a great eclipse two nights after it.'

CHAPTER XI.

Edward Winslow again elected governor.—Settlement of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, in Rhode Island, who receive a Charter from the Parliament of England.—Review of the Laws and Usages of the Plymouth Colony.—The fundamental Laws of that Colony established in 1636.

1636. MR WINSLOW having returned from England, was again elected governor, and Bradford first assistant or deputy governor. The other assistants were Governor Prince, William Collier, John Alden, Timothy Hatherly, John Brown, and Stephen Hopkins.

In the latter part of the preceding year, Roger Williams, driven from Salem by the intolerance and persecutions of the government of Massachusetts, fled to Seekonk,* but this place being within the limits of the Plymouth jurisdiction, and the people of that colony being unwilling to embroil themselves with Massachusetts, governor Winslow informed him with much friendliness of the difficulty which was apprehended, and advised him to occupy a spot on the opposite side of the river, which was without the limits of either jurisdiction. Williams thus driven both from Plymouth and Massachusetts, and 'utterly forlorn,' crossed the river, and threw himself upon the mercy of Caunonicus, the ruling sachem of the Narragansetts. From this savage chief, that generosity and kindness which was denied him by his countrymen, he received.

* Afterwards Rehoboth, but now, by a division of the town, the ancient name is restored.

Caunonicus not only permitted Williams and the wretched wanderers who had followed him from Salem to have a resting place in his domain, but he gave them all 'the neck of land lying between the mouths of Pawtucket and Moshasuck rivers, that they might set down in peace upon it, and enjoy it forever.' Here, with John Throckmorton, William Arnold, William Harris, Stukley Wescot, John Greene, Thomas Olney, Richard Waterman, Thomas James, Robert Cole, William Carpenter, Francis Weston, and Ezekiel Holliman, who had accompanied him in his flight from Salem, he founded, in the early part of 1636, another New England colony, and called it Providence. Here he formed his associates into a church, and divided the lands with which he had been endowed by Caunonicus equally amongst them, and now, although independent, still pursuing his principles of universal toleration, he attracted the discontented of the neighboring colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts, and many were added to his church.*

Soon after his settlement, he purchased of Caunonicus, almost the whole of the territory now comprised within the limits of the county of Providence, excepting Cumberland, and a few years after, a settlement was established at Patuxet, near Providence, by William Arnold, William Carpenter, Zachariah Rhodes, and William Harris, who went there from Providence. Although the order of time may be anticipated by a few months, yet the settlement of Providence was followed so soon by that of Rhode Island, so intimately were they connected, having been united under the same government shortly after the settlement, that it will be no violation of historical propriety to place the accounts of both in juxta-position.

* Particularly Robert Williams, John Smith, Hugh Bewit, William Wickenden, John Field, Thomas Hopkins, and William Hawkins.

In 1637, the celebrated Mrs Hutchinson, who had, by her enthusiasm, eloquence and talents, excited great disturbances at Boston, shared the fate of Mr Williams, and was banished for entertaining the Antinomian heresy, as in the language of the day it was called, although many of the most considerable persons in Boston were partial to her doctrines, particularly Sir Henry Vane the governor, and Mr Cotton. She was accompanied in her exile by her husband, William Hutchinson, William Coddington, Esq., an assistant of Massachusetts, John Clark, John Coggeshall, William Aspinwall, Samuel Wilbore, John Porter, John Sandford, Edward Hutchinson, Thomas Savage, William Dyer, William Freeborn, Philip Shearman, John Walker, Richard Carder, William Baulston, Edward Hutchinson, jr., and Henry Bull. Mr Clark and one other went to Providence to advise with Mr Williams, who recommended either the purchase of Sowams, (about Warren,) or Aquedneck, (Rhode Island.) Fearful of intruding on the Plymouth colony, they went to Plymouth to ascertain the extent of their claim. Sowams was considered by that government 'as the garden of their colony,' but they informed Mr Clark and Mr Williams that they had no claim to Aquedneck, and advised that Mrs Hutchinson's followers should settle there, 'where they should be esteemed as friends and neighbors.'

By the good offices of Williams, Miantonimo the young sachem of the Narragansetts, (who had now assumed the government,) Aquedneck, or Aquetneck was granted to Mr Coddington, Mr Clark, and their associates, by deed, dated March 24, 1637,—8 old style. Mr Williams in his account of this transaction, said, 'it was not price or money that could have purchased Rhode Island, but 'twas obtained by love, that love and favor which that honored gentleman, Sir Henry Vane, and myself, had with the

great sachem Miantonimo, about the league which I procured between the Massachusetts English, and the Narragansetts, in the Pequod war,'—'for the Indians were very shy and jealous of selling lands to any, and chose rather to make a grant (gift) of them to such as they affected.'

The associates settled on the island at a place opposite to Mount Hope, which they called Portsmouth, and elected Mr Coddington governor. Their numbers were soon increased, and in a short time several of them separating from the others in 1639, founded the town of Newport.

The government established by Williams was a pure democracy, all laws being made, trials had, offenders sentenced to punishment in the town meetings, and there all proceedings touching the welfare of the settlement, were voted.

The government of Rhode Island was of the same character. An inhabitant of Newport, of great note, was tried for a capital crime in town meeting, sentenced, and in pursuance of the sentence of the meeting, executed!

This similarity in the practice of government induced them to seek a union, and Mr Williams was sent over to England as their joint agent to obtain a common charter for both. For this purpose he left America in 1642, and found his countrymen there in the midst of a furious civil war; but the Parliament being masters of the fleet could control the plantations. By the influence of Sir Henry Vane, with whom he had an intimate friendship, he obtained an instrument in 1643, by which the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport were granted 'a free and absolute charter of incorporation, to be known by the name of the Incorporation of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, in New England.' By this charter, the form of the government was left to the

choice of the people. A chief magistrate was constituted, who was called a president, and Mr Williams became the first political president ever known in America.

It has been already related that a patent had been issued to William Bradford, and such as he should associate with him in 1629, which remained for some time in one of the public offices of England in the vain hope of obtaining the sanction of the king.

The pilgrims had adopted no constitution or instrument of government except the simple compact which was signed by all the company in the cabin of the Mayflower, (Nov. 1620,) and which recognized no principle but that of allegiance to the king, and the controlling power of the majority of the people in the transactions of the colony. No laws were made for the general organization of the government; the limits of political rights and political powers were not defined; the governor and assistants maintained their small portion of authority rather by common consent, than by a lawful delegation of power. The royal authority was recognized, and the laws of England were considered as having force in the colony, unless altered or repealed by colonial statutes; but it was very difficult to ascertain the character, authority, and force of those laws;—with the subtle logic of construction, and the system of artificial reasoning, growing out of the practice of special pleading, this people were entirely unacquainted; none amongst them understood the science of the law, and their long absence from England had deprived them of any practical knowledge. The clergy only understood its elementary principles, but they were more disposed to follow the laws of Moses than the laws of England.

Crimes and punishments were neither declared nor defined; even in a plain case of murder, the advice of

Governor Winthrop, (who had been educated to the law,) was sought, and he advised them to inflict the punishment of death, not because the punishment was required by the law of England, but 'that the land might be purged of blood.' The only magistrates were the governor and assistants. The office of justice of the peace was unknown. Trials were had in the general court before juries selected from the whole body of the freemen of the colony, and until 1634, the governor and assistants were not by law considered a judicial court. The magistrates had no jurisdiction of civil actions, and in criminal offences their jurisdiction was confined to the power of 'binding over' the accused to appear at the general court. The rule as to the descent of estates and the law of contracts was unsettled. The duties, powers, and obligations of husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward, master and servant, &c, were controlled and influenced by usages, which had been varied from the usages of England founded on the laws, by a residence in Holland, and in a wilderness, where in a manner men were put upon the elementary principles of society. The ecclesiastical law, which, in England, regulates marriages, divorces, the probate of wills, administrations, &c, was but little understood and but little regarded. Marriage was deemed a civil contract, and was solemnized by the civil magistrate, and not by the pastor or elder.

An imperfect attempt had been made in 1633, in case of an insufficiency of the goods and chattels of a deceased person to pay his debts, to charge them upon his lands, but as a portion was to be set apart for his family, it did not give much chance to the creditor.

With respect to the natives of the country, the situation of the English was peculiar, anomalous, and difficult; and no precedents existed to guide them. How far the laws in

force in the colony were applicable to the Indians; how far their penal power, and the power to enforce contracts extended, were questions which perplexed the wisest. In some instances a qualified, in others an absolute title was admitted in the Indians to the lands within the jurisdiction. Sometimes a verbal donation was deemed sufficient to pass the title, and sometimes deeds were executed with all the formality and precision of legal instruments. The sachems, however, appear to have been considered as the only natives having authority to convey lands.

With respect to political objects, previous to the year 1636, the Plymouth colony may be considered to have been but a voluntary association, ruled by the majority, and not by fixed laws. It does not appear, (except in a very few instances,) that they had availed themselves of their delegated powers under their patent to enact laws until 1633. A few laws only, and such as were of the most urgent necessity were then established, such as declaring every person within the jurisdiction liable to the performance of military duty; giving the jurisdiction of the probate of wills, and of granting administrations to the governor and assistants; regulating fishing and fowling; authorizing constables and persons trespassed upon to impound cattle taken in *damage feasant*. Penalties were directed to be inflicted on such as fired the woods. Lands of deceased persons were made liable for their debts in case of the insufficiency of personal property. No provision was made for the support of schools or the clergy; the attachment of the people, then, ensured the maintenance of the clergy without the coercion of the law, and no oaths of office were administered or required. The power of the church, in effect, was superior to the civil power, but in terms, was confined to the infliction of censure only.

A people like the members of Robinson's church, of pure morals, austere manners and enthusiastic piety, if confined to a small space, where the conduct of each would daily fall under the observation of the pastor, elder, and all such as they had been taught to venerate, and accustomed to respect, might be preserved for a time from the commission of any gross offences or any desperate crimes. But as the settlements expanded, as trade increased, as strangers came in in pursuit of gain without any reference to the ordinances of religion, and who, regardless of their spiritual good, pursued their temporal interest,—the authority, founded on the dread of censure alone, became impaired, and the selfish principles of man inwoven in his system, became predominant in his conduct. Codes of ethics, or the precepts of the gospel, could not prevent the occurrence of disputes, or the existence of wrongs.

Civilians arguing upon the theoretic principles of government without considering the actual state of the people, have deemed the colonists to have been a trading corporation with confined and limited powers, not having the authority to enact laws or to perform any act of sovereignty: they did in fact exercise sovereign power during the whole period of their colonial existence, but the essential laws on which the rule and government rested, may be dated from this year.

After the imperfect commencement in 1633, the years 1634 and 1635 were suffered to pass without any further progress, but the period had now arrived when all perceived the necessity of defining the limits of the power, and of prescribing the actual duties of the magistrates and people; of securing civil privileges; of establishing fundamental and organic laws, both civil and criminal, and to provide for their execution; of changing the legal

condition of the associates by making them a body politic, ruled by law and not by opinion; of placing their government on a stable foundation, and advancing another stage in the progress of social life.

On the 15th of November, at a court of Associates, the following declaration was ordered :

‘ We the associates of New Plymouth, coming hither as freeborn subjects of the State of England, and endowed with all and singular the privileges belonging to such, being assembled, do ordain that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance be made or imposed upon us at the present or to come, but such as shall be made and imposed by consent of the body of the associates, or their representatives legally assembled, which is according to the liberties of the state of England.’

This order is of no ordinary character; whether the laws of England which preceded this order were renounced, is equivocal; the authority of English laws, ‘ at present or to come,’ was renounced, and Parliament were denied the right of legislating for New Plymouth by the whole body of the associates. This order is the first declaration of rights if not of independence, and the laws which followed became ‘ absolutely necessary for the preservation of the government.

The courts were all to be holden at Plymouth unless otherwise ordered by the governor and assistants, who were authorised upon reasonable cause ‘ to keep some courts of assistants elsewhere.’

It was enacted that on the first Tuesday of June, a governor and seven assistants should be chosen ‘ to rule and govern the plantation within the limits of this corpo-

ration,' and the election was confined to the freemen.* The qualifications required to constitute a freeman were, twentyone years of age, 'sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion,' and a rateable estate of the value of twenty pounds. All these were prerequisites before they could be admitted to the oath prescribed to be taken by freemen.

Some of the best men in the colony were precluded. William Vassal Esq. of Scituate, who had been an assistant in Massachusetts, and was one of the wealthiest as well as worthiest and most intelligent gentlemen of whom the colony could boast, was disqualified for office, for although a puritan, he continued an Episcopalian.

It was also enacted that the governor in due season, by warrant directed to the several constables in the name of his majesty should give notice to the freemen either to make their personal appearance at the courts of election, or to send their votes by proxy for the choice of officers, and that all warrants, summons, and commands, 'be all done, directed, and made in the name of our sovereign lord the king.'

* The following oath was prescribed for the freemen at this court.

'You shall be truly loyal to our dread lord King Charles, his heirs and successors, you shall not do, nor speak, devise or advise anything or things, act or acts, directly or indirectly by land or water that shall or may tend to the destruction or overthrow of the present plantations or township of the corporation of New Plymouth; neither shall you suffer the same to be spoken or done, but shall hinder, oppose, and discover the same to the governor and assistants of the said colony for the time being, or some one of them; you shall faithfully submit unto such good and wholesome laws and ordinances as either are or shall be made for the ordering and government of the same, and shall endeavor to advance the good and growth of the several townships and plantations within the limits of this corporation by all due means and courses, all which you promise and swear by the name of the great God of heaven, and earth, firmly, truly, and faithfully to perform, as you hope for help from God, who is the God of truth, and punisher of falsehood.'

The vote by proxy would appear somewhat strange at this day, and although in the simple days of our forefathers the agent might honestly vote as his principal directed, yet in the fury of modern contests, it would at certain periods have been considered an act of sturdy honesty in one entrusted with this power, to use it for the discomfiture of his party, although such had been his instruction.

The jurisdiction of all causes under 40s. was given to the governor and any two of the assistants, 'to try at any time, and also in offences of small nature to do as God shall direct them.' The power of trying the larger offences and suits, still abided in the whole body of the freemen, by their juries.

This law although it may be evidence of the piety of our forefathers, seems to be too general in its terms—'to do as God shall direct,' might have produced contradictory decisions. For men interpret the will of God so variously, that no uniformity in decisions could have been established under a power so undefined. It would seem as though the decision of the governor and assistants in small cases was final, and this certainly when considered in one way, was not an unwise law; it prevented the ruinous prosecution of small suits, which is generally to the injury of both contending parties. Yet the trial by jury would be yielded at this period with great reluctance, even in disputes of the most trifling character.

The duties and power of the governor were thus defined by law.

'The office of governor for the time being, consisting in the execution of such laws and ordinances as are or shall be made and established for the good of the corporation according to the bounds and limits thereof, namely, in calling together and advising with the assistants in

council of the said corporation, upon such material causes or so seeming to him, as time shall bring forth. In which assembly and all others, the governor to propound the occasion of the assembly, and have a double vote therein; if the assistants judge the cause too great to be decided by them, and refer it to the general court, then the governor to summon a court by warning all the freemen that are then extant, as also in case the majority of the freemen seeing weighty cause for the whole body of freemen to come together, and in an orderly way acquaint the governor with their desires thereof; then he shall summon the whole body of freemen together with all convenient speed, and there also to propound causes, and go before the assistants in the examination of particulars, and to propound such sentence as shall be determined. Further it shall be lawful for him to arrest and commit to ward any offender, provided that with all convenient speed he bring the case to hearing either of the assistants or general court, according to the nature of the offence; also it shall be lawful for him to examine any suspicious persons for evil against the colony, as also to interrupt or oppose such letters as he conveniently may send to the overthrow of the same, and that his office continue one year, and no more, namely, until another be elected.*

* Previous to entering on the duties of his office, the following oath was to be taken by the governor.

‘ You shall be truly loyal to our sovereign lord, King Charles, his heirs and successors; also, according to that measure of understanding and discerning given unto you, shall faithfully, equally, and indifferently, without respect of persons administer justice in all cases coming before you as the governor of New Plymouth. You shall in like manner faithfully, duly, and truly, execute the laws and ordinances of the same, and shall labor to advance the good of the townships and plantations within the limits thereof, to the uttermost of your power, and oppose anything that shall seem to hinder the same. So help you God, who is the God of truth and the punisher of falsehood.’

The office of governor seems to have given to the incumbent but little more than the privilege of acting as chairman of the courts of assistants, or of the general court;—the honorary station of being the official head of political society. He was destitute of the power of appointing the officers of the government, or even of nominating them, of course he had no patronage, or any mode of securing influence, excepting what arose from the weight of his personal character. He could call the assistants together for the purpose of advising with them in council, and in voting his voice was double, but the assistants could refer all matters to the general court, which the governor was obliged to summon if they required it, and his duty in that court was confined to the statement of the questions upon which they were to act. The power of arrest was given to him, but no further than to restrain the offender until his offence could be investigated either by the court of assistants or the general court. The power of examining suspicious persons, and of ‘interrupting letters,’ was given probably in consequence of the misconduct of Lyford. It cannot well be conceived how a government could be administered with such limited authority in the executive. The personal influence of the governor must have supplied the want of legal power.

The assistants were required to appear at the governor’s summons, and to give their best advice both in public court and private council with the governor for the welfare of the several plantations within the government, ‘and not to disclose such things as concerned the public good, and shall be thought most to be considered by the governor and council of assistants. To have a hand in examining of public offenders, and in contriving the affairs of the colony, and a voice in censuring such offenders as shall be brought to public court.’ In the absence of the governor the

government was to be administered by an assistant of his nomination with the consent of the other assistants, and also to examine and commit offenders to ward, the hearing of the offender however to be before the governor and the other assistants. Assistants were also authorized in his majesty's name to direct their warrants to constables who were required to execute them, and to 'bind out persons for matter of crime to answer at the next ensuing court of his majesty after the fact committed, or person apprehended.'*

The want of power in the governor was not supplied by the greater powers of the assistants. They were to advise the governor, and were restrained from 'betraying council.' They presided in the examination of offenders in public court, 'and had a voice in censuring.' One of them by the consent of the others on the nomination of the governor could discharge the executive duties in his absence, and their power to arrest was similar to that of the governor.

Within this narrow circle were confined the powers of the assistants. In a factious society, this power would have been constantly defied and contemned, but the colonists were sober, moral, reflecting, and religious, in fact

* The following oath was prescribed to the assistants.

'You shall all swear to be truly loyal to our sovereign lord King Charles, his heirs and successors:—You shall faithfully, truly, and justly, according to the measure of discerning and discretion God hath given you, be assistant to the governor for this present year, for the execution of justice in all cases, and towards all persons coming before you without partiality,—according to the nature of the office of an assistant read unto you:—Moreover, you shall diligently, duly, and truly, see that the laws and ordinances of this colony be duly executed, and shall labor to advance the good of the several plantations within the limits thereof, and oppose anything that shall seem to annoy the same, by all due means and courses. So help you God, who is the God of truth, and punisher of falsehood.'

a well regulated family, loving and obeying their magistrates with an affection and reverence like that which children render their parents, and the influence of the clergy was a powerful support to this paternal government which depended so little on physical strength, and so much on the moral force of opinion. But yet a most extraordinary power was given to the governor and any two of the assistants by a law of 1636, which forbid any person to 'live and inhabit within this government of New Plymouth without their leave and liking.'*

At every election court it was provided 'that some one of the assistants, or some other sufficient man be chosen treasurer who was to remain in office a year, who was authorized to demand and receive whatever accrued from fines, amercements, or otherwise,' and he was directed 'to improve the same for the public benefit of this corporation.' For this office neither oath nor bond were required.

The responsibility of the treasurer could not have been great, his receipts being confined to fines and amercements, and it was from this circumstance probably, that the precautions which in times more modern have been used to secure the faithful performance of this high trust

* The following oath was prescribed to be taken by any residing in the government.

'You shall be truly loyal to our sovereign lord King Charles, his heirs and successors, and whereas you choose at present to reside within the government of New Plymouth, you shall not do or cause to be done any act or acts directly or indirectly, by land or water, that shall or may tend to the destruction or overthrow of the whole or any the several plantations or townships within the said government that are or shall be orderly erected or established, but shall contrawise hinder, oppose, and discover the same, and such intents and purposes as tend thereunto, to the governor for the time being, or some one of the assistants with all convenient speed. You shall also submit unto and obey all such good and wholesome laws, ordinances, and offices as are or shall be established within the limits thereof. So help you God!'

were omitted, and not from an overweening confidence in the honesty of the individual to whom its duties were then entrusted.

The office of sheriff was not recognized. The office of marshal of the colony was established subsequently. At this period no other civil executive office (that of governor and assistants excepted) existed, except that of constable, which was then of much more consideration than now. This office appears to have been established very early, and is recognized as existing. The constables seem to have been entrusted with all the executive processes of the law,* and they had the power to apprehend 'suspicious persons' without precept.

At the present period, the power to arrest on suspicion 'without precept,' is scarcely allowed even to the chief magistrate of the nation or of a State.

CRIMINAL LAWS.

The offences which were made capital, and ordered to be punished with death, were—

* The following was the official oath prescribed to be taken by constables, and as it seems a pregnant oath and to contain a compendium of his duties, it is inserted.

'You shall swear to be truly loyal to our sovereign lord King Charles, his heirs and successors. You shall faithfully serve in the office of constable for the ward of —— for this present year, according to that measure of wisdom, understanding, and discretion God hath given you: in which time you shall diligently see that his majesty's peace commanded, be not broken, but shall carry the person or persons before the governor of this corporation, or some one of his assistants, and there attend the hearing of the case, and such order as shall be given you:—You shall apprehend all suspicious persons and bring them before the said governor or some one of his assistants as aforesaid: You shall duly and truly serve such warrants, and give such summons as shall be directed to you from the governor or assistants before mentioned, and shall labor to advance the peace and happiness of this corporation, and to oppose anything that shall seem to annoy the same, by all due means and courses. So help you God, who is the God of truth and punisher of falsehood.'

1. Treason or rebellion against the person of our sovereign lord the king, the State or Commonwealth of England, or this corporation.

2. Wilful murder.

3. Diabolical conversation, or conversing with the Devil, by way of witchcraft, conjuration, or the like.

4. Wilful or purposed burning of ships or houses.

5. Rape, and the crimes against nature.

In the enumeration of capital offences, burglary and highway robbery are omitted. Witchcraft is made capital, as it then was in England, and probably throughout Christendom. The belief in its existence was a delusion common to all, and the punishment was warranted by the general belief. We may lament the ignorance and fanaticism of the age which cherished such belief, but we cannot with justice impugn the motives of those who provided this punishment. However, in the Plymouth Colony the law was a dead letter, or at least no convictions were had, and no punishment inflicted.

The wilful burning of ships or houses, without discriminating between the night and the day, was made capital; the more lenient and wiser legislation of modern times inflicts capital punishment only on such as wilfully and maliciously burn dwelling houses in the night time. The law in modern times has also been wisely relaxed as to the punishment of the crimes against nature, although such were punished capitally in Massachusetts, until 1806. Whether the laws of England would have been recognised in the punishment of highway robbery, and burglary, cannot be known as those crimes never became the subject of judicial investigation during the existence of the colony. neither was any capital punishment inflicted in the colony except for the crime of murder.

Stocks and whipping-posts were ordered to be placed in each town.

Drunkenness was punished by a fine, 'or like other misdemeanors.'

With respect to juries, it was enacted 'that it shall be lawful for the governor to impanell such of his majesty's subjects as are of good report and freholders, upon juries, although no freemen do appear therein, as well as such as have taken their freedom,' and 'that all tryals whether capital or between man and man be tried by juries according to the precedents of the laws of England as near as may be.' Each town was to choose one juror, except the remote towns.

The grand inquest was to be empannelled by the governor and assistants out of all the townships, 'and warned to serve his majesty by inquiring into abuses, breaches of the peace, wholesome laws and ordinances as tend to the preservation of the peace and the good of the subject, and that they shall present such to the court as are guilty, that they may be prosecuted by the court by all means.' They were also to inquire into all such misdemeanors as tended 'to the hurt and detriment of society, civility, peace, and neighborhood,' and to make presentment thereof.

It does not appear that the grand jury were to be under oath, or that complaints made to them should be made on oath, and probably this was not the fact, for subsequently laws were enacted requiring both.

The whole militia law was contained substantially in these words :

Every person both for himself and every man servant able to bear arms, was required to provide 'a piece, powder, and shot, with bandaleers, sword, and other appurtenances, and to be at all times furnished with a pound of

powder, and four pounds of bullets, and four fathoms of match for every matchlock musket.'

Every person by a previous law had been made liable to perform military duty, but no penalty appears to have been provided for non-performance, either then, or at this time.

In 1636, it was provided that no servant coming out of his time, or single person, 'be suffered to keep house for themselves,' until they were completely provided with arms and ammunition, and were not allowed to be house-keepers or 'to build any cottage or dwelling, till such time as they be allowed by the governor and council of assistants or some one or more of them.'

It was enacted that inheritances should 'descend according to the commendable custom of England and as they hold of East Greenwich.' This was the highest title known in English law, unincumbered with any of the complicated provisions of the feudal age, knight's service, &c. the ancient Saxon law as preserved in the county of Kent, free from all the trappings and forms of the Norman law.

Mortgages, leases, or other conveyances of houses and lands, were to be acknowledged before the governor or an assistant, and 'committed to public record.'

A preference was given to the natives of the colony in one respect, as it was enacted that 'children born here, and next unto them, such as are here, and brought up under their parents, of age, wanting land for their accommodation, to be provided for in preference to any coming from England and elsewhere.' And persons covenanting to give lands to their servants after service, were to do it out of their own proper lands.

None were allowed to marry who were under 'the covert of parents,' without their consent and approbation,

‘except in case of refusal, the governor or an assistant, it being fit, and their approbation published three several times in public before solemnization,’ and a master refusing to permit his servant to marry, the magistrate was authorized to permit the marriage. If the consent of parents, masters, or guardians, could not be obtained ‘through any sinister or covetous desire,’ the magistrates upon complaint and examination, might order that which was ‘most equal and best.’

The paternal character of the governor and assistants, is strongly recognised in this law;—an express authority is given to them to interfere in a reasonable, but in an effectual manner, in matters respecting which all nations and people have rejected and prohibited all interference beyond the domestic roof.

The origin of town-governments in New England, is involved in some obscurity. The system does not prevail in England. Nothing analogous to it is known in the southern states, and although the system of internal government in the middle states bears a partial resemblance to that of New England, it is in many respects dissimilar. Those who are strangers to our customs, are surprised to find the whole of New England divided into a vast number of little democratic republics, which have full power to do all those things which most essentially concern the comforts, happiness, and morals of the people.

The revenue expended for town purposes, far exceeds the amount which is expended for the support of the state governments. The tax gatherer of the national government is not known except to the importing merchants, who are few in number, and are residents of the cities on the seaboard.

The whole expense of supporting paupers, maintaining schools, and repairing public roads, is paid by the inhab-

itants of the towns in their corporate capacity. The supplies for these and other incidental purposes, are voted in the town meetings, the inhabitants determine the amount, and direct the mode of expenditure. The chief executive power is in the hands of the selectmen, who have a general oversight and supervision of the affairs of the towns, but the power of local legislation is in the hands of the townsmen.

Under the government of these little republics, society is trained in habits of order, and the whole people acquire a practical knowledge of legislation within their own sphere. To this mode of government may be attributed that sober and reflecting character, almost peculiar to the people of New England, and their general knowledge of politics and legislation. Many distinguished orators and statesmen have made their first essays in town meetings. In the popular branch of the state legislature the members are not now the representatives of the whole people, but of town corporations.

To return to the question of the origin of these governments. It will be recollected that at the time of the first settlement of Plymouth and for many years after, all matters of general interest were decided at general meetings of the whole people called courts. Plymouth was settled by a church, and at first the ecclesiastical government was most respected. The settlements extended. A new church was formed at Duxbury, one afterwards at Marshfield, another at Scituate. It became inconvenient to legislate on matters of local interest at Plymouth, and constablericks were allowed in these distant places. During this period, the lands for the most part were held by occupancy, and not by any title founded on English law.—The people soon began to purchase from the Indians. The practice becoming common, the court thought proper to restrict

it, and to pass a law that no title should be good unless confirmed by them. Hence originated the practice of forming companies of proprietors generally called proprietaries—A purchase of territory was made from the Indians, which was allowed by the court, who upon application, issued a charter, and the company became a body corporate. Settlements were made, and an act of incorporation by which the territory was created a town followed. Instead of being settled by the church only, ministers were settled by the towns in town meetings, the salary established and annually voted, and in some towns this practice continues to this day. In consequence of the increase of such as were called sectarians, at first Quakers, then Baptists, and occasionally Episcopalians, the practice of settling ministers in town meeting and supporting them by the town's funds has fallen into disuse. At first there were no paupers, there were poor people who received partial support from the liberality of individuals; and in the first years of the Plymouth colony there was no provision made by law for the support of schools. The roads then as now, were kept in repair by the common and personal labor of the people.

As circumstances changed, the laws were changed, and at last the present perfect system came into operation, having been gradually accommodated to the progress of society, and the condition of the people. Another change is now demanded. The system of town representation cannot endure; the increase of rateable polls, on which that representation is founded has been such, that the numbers of one of the legislatives bodies in this state is so great, as to obstruct the course of public business and almost paralyze legislation.

To the independent churches, we may trace the original notion of independent communities, which afterwards

assumed the name of towns, and which after having passed through an ecclesiastical state, and after the proprietaries became extinct from the special appropriation of all the lands within the bounds of their charter, assumed the shape of political corporations, with municipal and in fact legislative powers within their own limits.

CHAPTER XII.

William Bradford again elected Governor.—Pequot War.—Thomas Prince elected Governor.—Earthquake.—Murder of an Indian by four Englishmen.—Three of them executed.—Controversy with Gorton.—Gorton's doctrines.—Settlement of New Haven.

1637. MR BRADFORD was again chosen Governor, and Mr Winslow first assistant. Five other assistants only are named by Secretary Morton as having been elected, who were Timothy Hatherly, William Collier, Gov. Prince, Capt. Standish, and John Jenny for the first time.

The war with the Pequots commenced and terminated this year in their utter overthrow and extermination. Plymouth was a party in the war, and fiftysix men marched under the command of Capt. Standish, but before he reached the scene of action, the war was terminated, and Standish returned. The history of this war belongs to Connecticut.

1638. Thomas Prince was elected Governor; William Bradford first assistant. The other assistants were Edward Winslow, Capt. Standish, John Alden, John Jenny, John Atwood, John Brown.

The people during this year were alarmed by a great earthquake which however did but little injury.

Four young men of Plymouth, who were servants, absconding from their masters, attacked a solitary Indian at

Pawtucket, near Providence, but within the limits of Plymouth, and after inflicting upon him a mortal wound, robbed him of a quantity of wampum, and fled to Providence. The Indian escaped to his countrymen. The Englishmen discovering that he had escaped, continued their flight to Aquedneck, (Rhode Island,) where they were apprehended. Mr Williams informed the Governor of Massachusetts of the transaction, and requested his advice. He was advised to notify the government of Plymouth, and upon their requisition to surrender the criminals, 'otherwise seeing no English had jurisdiction in the place where the murder was committed, neither had they at the island any government established, it would be safest to deliver the principal, who was certainly known to have killed the party, to the Indians his friends, with caution that they should not put him to torture, and to keep the other three for further consideration.' Williams pursued the advice, and notified the government of Plymouth, who thereupon required the offenders, and three were surrendered, the other having escaped. The governor of Plymouth understanding that the prisoners intended to appeal to England, also solicited the advice of Governor Winthrop, who replied that the whole country was interested, and urged the Plymouth government to have 'justice done' here, and it was, as they were all put upon trial. They confessed that they murdered the Indian in order to possess themselves of his wampum. Some difficulty occurred at the trial, inasmuch as no witness could swear positively that the Indian was dead; but Mr Williams and Mr James of Providence testifying that his wound was mortal, and two Indians (notwithstanding the general panic which prevailed amongst them in consequence of this event) having been persuaded to appear and swearing that if he were not dead of the wound, they

themselves would suffer death, the prisoners were all condemned and executed. Two died penitents especially Arthur Peach an Irishman, 'a young man (says Governor Winthrop,) of good parentage and fair conditioned, and who had done very good service against the Pequots.' John Barnes was another. The name of the third is not mentioned. The one who escaped fled to Piscataqua, where he was protected even by force, and finally escaped out of the country.* Roger Williams and many of the natives were present at the execution.

*The following account of this transaction is contained in a letter from Roger Williams to Governor Winthrop.

'Sir, there hath been a great hubbub in all these parts, as a general persuasion that time was come of a general slaughter of natives, by reason of a murder committed upon a native within twelve miles of us by four desperate English. I presume particulars have scarce as yet been presented to your hand. The last 5th day, towards evening, a native, passing through us, brought me word, that at Pawtuckcut, a river four miles from us towards the bay, four Englishmen were almost famished. I instantly sent provisions and strong water, with invitations, &c. The messengers brought word that they were one Arthur Peach of Plymouth an Irishman, John Barnes, his man, and two others come from Pascataqua, travelling to Qunnihticut; and that they had been lost five days, and fell into our path but six miles, whereas they were importuned to come home, &c. They pleaded soreness in travelling, and therefore their desire to rest there.

'The next morning they came to me by break of day, relating that the old man at Pawtuckcut had put them forth the last night, because some Indians said that they had hurt an Englishman, and therefore that they lay between us and Pawtuckcut.

'I was busy in writing letters and getting them a guide to Qunnihticut, and inquired no more, they having told me that they came from Plymouth on the last of the week in the evening, and lay still in the woods the Lord's day, and then lost their way to Weymouth, from whence they lost their way again towards us, and came in again six miles off Pawtuckcut.

'After they were gone, an old native comes to me, and tells me that the natives round about us were fled, relating that those four had slain a native, who had carried three beaver skins and beads for Caunonicus' son, and came home with five fathom and three coats; that three natives which came after him found him groaning in the path; that he told them that four Englishmen had slain him. They came to Pawtuckcut, and inquired after the English,

This execution is an undeniable proof of that stern sense of duty which was cherished by the Pilgrims. To

which when Arthur and his company heard, they got on hose and shoes, and departed in the night.

‘ I sent after them to Nanhiggantick, and went myself with two or three more to the wounded in the woods. The natives at first were shy of us, conceiving a general slaughter, but (through the Lord’s mercy,) I assured them that Mr Governor knew nothing, &c, and that I had sent to apprehend the men. So we found that he had been run through the leg and belly with one thrust. We dressed him and got him to town the next day, where Mr James and Mr Greene endeavored all they could, his life; but the wound in the belly, and blood lost, and fever following, cut his life’s thread.

‘ Before he died, he told me that the four English had slain him, and that (being faint and not able to speak,) he had related the truth to the natives who first came to him, viz. that they, viz. the English, saw him in the bay and his beads; that sitting in the side of a swamp a little way out of the path, (I went to see the place, fit for an evil purpose,) Arthur called him to drink tobacco, who coming and taking the pipe of Arthur, he run him through the leg into the belly, when, springing back, Arthur made a second thrust, but mist him; that another of them struck at him, but mist him, and his weapon run into the ground; that getting from them a little way into the swamp, they pursued him till he fell down, when they mist him, and getting up again, when he heard them close by him, he run to and again in the swamp, till he fell down again, when they lost him quite; afterwards, towards night, he came and lay in the path, that some passenger might help him as aforesaid.

‘ Whereas they said, they wandered Plymouth way; Arthur knew the path, having gone it twice; and beside, Mr Throckmorton met them about Naponset river, in the path, who, riding roundly upon a sudden by them, was glad he had passed them, suspecting them. They denied that they met Mr Throckmorton.

‘ The messenger that I sent to Nanhiggontick, pursuing after them, returned the next day, declaring that they showed Miantunomu letters to Aquedneck, (which were mine to Qunnihtiqu,) and so to Aquedenick they past, whither I sent information of them, and so they were taken. Their sudden examination they sent me, a copy of which I am bold to send to your worship enclosed.

‘ The Islanders, (Mr Codrington being absent,) resolved to send them to us, some thought, by us to Plymouth, from whence they came. Sir, I shall humbly crave your judgment whether they ought not to be tried where they are taken? If they be sent any way, whether not to Plymouth? In case Plymouth refuse, and the Islanders send them to us, what answers we may give if others unjustly shift them unto us. I know that every man, quatenus man, and son of Adam, is his brother’s keeper or avenger; but I desire to do bonum

put three Englishmen to death for the murder of one Indian, without compulsion, or without any apprehension of consequences, (for it does not appear that any application was made on the part of the Indians for the punishment of the murderers, and they might have been pacified by the death of one, and probably even without that,) denotes a degree of moral culture unequalled in new settlements. It stands in our annals without a parallel instance; the truth of the fact is avouched by all our early historians, and it stands an eternal and imperishable monument of stern, unsparing, inflexible justice, and in all probability it was not without its earthly reward, for the Indians, convinced of the justice of the English, abstained from all attempts to avenge their wrongs, by their own acts for many years.

Samuel Gorton, a native of the city of London, after visiting Boston in 1636, went to Plymouth, where he advanced opinions touching religion extremely offensive to the church, and productive of much controversy amongst the people, some of whom embraced his doctrines. Engaging in a controversy with Mr Smith, the pastor, whose capacity was small, and who probably was foiled in the dispute by Gorton, Smith sought his revenge by citing Gorton to appear at a court to be holden at Plymouth, in

bene. Thus beseeching the God of heaven, most holy and only wise, to make the interpretation of his holy meaning in all occurrences, to bring us by all these bloody passages to an higher price of the blood of the Son of God, yea of God, by which the chosen are redeemed, with all due respects to your dear self and dear companion, I cease.

Your worship's most unworthy,

‘ROGER WILLIAMS.’

In another letter he says—

‘Sir,—At Plymouth it pleased the Lord to force the prisoners to confess, that they all complotted and intended murder; and they were, three of them, (the fourth having escaped by a pinnace, from Aquednick,) executed in the presence of the natives, who went with me.’

December, 1638. Gorton maintaining his principles not only with firmness but with insolence, the court sentenced him to find security for his good behaviour during his stay in Plymouth, which was limited to fourteen days, and amerced him in a large fine. He went from Plymouth to Rhode Island, and although the settlers there had just been expelled from Massachusetts for heresy, they could not endure the intrusion of Gorton's opinions amongst them, and he was sentenced to be whipped, and then banished. From Rhode Island he went to Providence, and so riotous was his conduct, that even the mild and tolerant Williams found himself constrained to solicit the aid of Massachusetts to expel him. He retired amongst the Indians of Narragansett, and purchased of two of the petty sachems a tract of land called Sha-o-met, of four miles in width, and extending back twenty miles. The sachems afterwards denied the sale, but Miantonimo, the chief sachem of the Narragansetts, confirmed it. The petty sachems having conveyed their title to Massachusetts, that colony claimed jurisdiction of the territory, and cited Gorton and his followers, who were settled on the lands, to appear at Boston. Gorton denied their jurisdiction and refused to go. Capt. George Cook and forty men were then despatched from Boston to apprehend Gorton and his company. They seized their catle, destroyed and carried away their goods, and guarded all the men, being ten in number, besides Gorton, viz. Randall Holden, John Wickes, John Greene, Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, John Warner, Richard Carder, Sampson Shotton, Robert Potter, and William Woodale, as prisoners to Boston, leaving their families at the mercy of the Indians.

It would seem that some of the followers both of Roger Williams and Mrs Hutchinson, had been seduced from

*No inde
Williams
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their fidelity by Gorton. Greene, Waterman, and Weston had accompanied Williams in his flight from Salem. Carder had been a follower of Mrs Hutchinson. Wickes followed Gorton from Plymouth.

They were brought to trial in Massachusetts, not for contumacy or defrauding the Indians, but for blasphemy and heresy, and the trial was for life or death. Gorton's writings were produced in proof, but so satisfactory was his explanation, that Governor Winthrop declared in court that he could agree with them, yet such was the horrible bigotry of the age, that these eleven men escaped a sentence of death by a majority of two voices only. Their punishment, however, was as cruel as it was unjust; each was compelled to wear an iron chain fast bolted round the leg, and in this manner to labor. If they spoke to any except an officer of church or state, they were to suffer death. If they spoke on the subject of religion, or complained of their usage, they were to suffer death. They were kept at labor through the winter, and then banished the jurisdiction, 'not to return on pain of death.'

Gorton, Greene and Holden went to England. They obtained an order from the earl of Warwick and the other commissioners of the plantations, dated August 19, 1644, directed to the Massachusetts colony, of the following tenor. After 'expostulating with them for their want of charity,' they were required not again to molest the settlers of Shaomet, (now Warwick,) on account of their religion or lands, 'and to permit them to pass peaceably through their government.' Massachusetts yielded to this order with great reluctance, and an agent was sent to England to answer to the charges of Gorton, who, assumed in this early stage of their political existence this bold position, 'that the doings of the Massachusetts colony were not subject to any re-examination in England!'

After this, Gorton and his followers enjoyed their lands in quiet. Gorton was again in Boston in 1648, but being threatened he went away. He afterwards lived in tranquillity to a great age.

Gorton was one of those daring spirits which this enthusiastic age brought forth. He appeared at a period when men, relieved from the thralldom of long established creeds, pursue without restraint the phantasies of their excited imaginations, as well as the sober truths of the gospel. The vaunted independence of opinion, is productive of error as well as of good, and the crudities of fanatics will disturb the world, as long as the shouts of the multitude shall proclaim the triumph either of the coxcomb or the martyr. It has remained for the present age to achieve the consummation of that divine toleration which Roger Williams preached two centuries ago, but yet the toleration of opinion has not succeeded the toleration of law, and men are not yet willing to believe that in the house of the common Father 'there are many mansions.'

We may glorify ourselves for our superior intelligence, but we can feel but little pride when we contrast our wisdom with that of our ancestors. We have fanatics as wild, as insane, as ignorant, and as blasphemous as James Naylor or George Fox. The Shakers, Jemima Wilkinson, Joanna Southcott, and Richard Brothers bring home to our minds, the mortifying truth that if we are more tolerant than our ancestors, we are still liable to witness the excesses of folly and fanaticism under the name of religion. Even now a sect are increasing in numbers and respectability, who hold to the practicability of conversing while on earth, with the beings of the invisible world, and of ascending while in the flesh, to the heaven of the saints; and this sect are for the most part men of learn-

ing, intellect, and great purity, both in principles and conduct. However, the improvement of society is progressive, the march of man is onward. Who could have believed that the successors of the early Baptists would have been spirited and generous patrons of learning, or that the greatest donation ever made in America for the purposes of education, would have been from the hands of a Quaker!

There has been much diversity of opinion as to the doctrines of Gorton. Whatever they might have been in reality, he always had the ingenuity so to explain them, as to satisfy the candid. He was supercilious, self-sufficient, insolent, stubborn, and intractable, but ingenious, plausible, and eloquent; and although he might not have preached any doctrines which would offend the expanded liberality of the present age, yet in that, he experienced all the ire which is engendered in bigoted minds from resistance to those opinions and lights which they are well persuaded are from heaven, and therefore infallible.

Secretary Morton represents him as 'a proud and pestilent seducer, and leavened with blasphemous and famalistical opinions, and as an Atheist; that he and his followers "blasphemed the Lord Jesus himself, his words and ordinances in such a manner, as scarce in any age any heretics or apostates have done the like; not only abandoning and rejecting all civil power and authority, except moulded according to their own fancies, but belching out errors in their famalistical allegories. If, (says he,) I may so call them, as, to speak with holy reverence, they rendered the Lord Christ no more than an imagination; shunning not blasphemously to say, that Christ was but a shadow, and resemblance of what is done in every christian; that Christ was incarnate in Adam, and was the image of God wherein Adam was created; and that

his being born afterwards of the Virgin Mary, and suffering, was but a manifestation of his suffering in Adam; that man losing God's image, was the death of Christ; that Christ is the covenant properly, and that Faith and Christ are all one. They call the holy word, and sermons of salvation, tales; the Lord's supper an abomination, and a spell; Baptism vanity and abomination; the ministers of the word necromancers, &c."

'He was (says the secretary,) a subtle deceiver, courteous in his carriage to all, at some times for his own ends, but soon moved with passion, and so lost that which he gained on the simple.' He calls him a sordid man, and one that denies a future existence.

To these charges Gorton replied,—'In that,' says he, you declare I have spoken words, (or to that effect,) that there is no state nor condition of mankind after this life. I do verily believe that there is not a man, woman or child upon the face of the earth, that will come forth and say, that ever they heard any such words come from my mouth, and I appeal to God, the judge of all secrets, that there was never such a thought entertained in my heart.'

'And whereas you say I am become a sordid man in my life; I dare be so bold as to lay my conversation among men to the rules of humanity, with any minister among you, in all the passages of my life, which God hath brought me through, from my youth unto this day, that it hath been as comely and innocent as his. Whose ox or whose ass have I taken, or when or where have I lived upon other men's labors, and not wrought with my own hands for things honest in the sight of man, and to eat my own bread.

'For the rest of the expressions you charge upon us, you falsely apply them. We never called sermons of sal-

vation tales; nor any ordinances of the Lord an abomination or vanity; nor holy ministers necromancers. We honor, reverence, and practice these things. And however you term me a belcher out of errors, I would have you know, that I hold my call to preach the gospel of Christ, not inferior to any minister in this country, though I was not bred up in the schools of human learning, and I bless God that I never was; least I had been drowned in pride and ignorance, through Aristotle's principles, and other heathen philosophers, as millions are, and have been, and ground their preaching of the gospel upon human principles, to the falsifying of the word of God, in the ruin of men's souls. Yet this I doubt not of, that there has been as much true use made of the languages within this twenty years past, in the place where I live, as hath been in any church in New England: I know the manner of your preaching very well.'

He then alludes to the manner in which his preaching was received in England,—the great favor he there enjoyed, &c.

It is probable that his intolerable insolence excited more irritation and prejudice than his preaching, and incited his enemies in many cases to pervert his allegories into blasphemies, for Letchmere, (who was in New England about the time that Gorton was driven from Newport,) a lawyer, and not partial to the religion or the churches of New England, says, 'there (Newport) they lately whipt one Master Gorton, a grave man, for denying their power and abusing some of the magistrates in uncivil terms: the governor, Master Coddington, saying in court, "you that are for the king, lay hold on Gorton," and he again on the other side called forth, "all you that are for the king, lay hold on Coddington; whereupon Gorton was banished the island, so with his wife and children he

went to Providence. They began about a small trespass of swine, but it is thought some other matter was ingredient.'

During this year, (1638*) Quinnipiack which had been explored in the preceding year, was settled and called New Haven, and it existed until 1665, as a separate colony. It was then united to Connecticut.

The principal founders were Theophilus Eaton, Esq., an eminent London merchant who had been deputy governor of the East India Company, and minister to Denmark. He was elected the first governor. John Davenport, a celebrated minister, their first pastor, Samuel Eaton, Thomas Gregson, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Nathaniel Turner, Thomas Fugill, Francis Newman, Stephen Goodyear, and Joshua Atwater. Mr Peter Prudden was also an early adventurer at New Haven.

* In the month of April.

CHAPTER XIII.

Progress of the Settlements, and the local and ecclesiastical History of the town of Plymouth, and of the towns of Duxbury, Scituate, Taunton, Sandwich, Barnstable, and Yarmouth.—Governor Bradford re-elected.—First meeting of the Committees or Deputies from the several towns in General Court.—Renewal of the treaty with Massasoiet and his son.—Marshfield incorporated.—Governor Bradford surrenders the Patent.—Extent of the towns.—Indian Territory.—Literature.—Conclusion of the first part of the History.

To present a clear view of the circumstances and situation of the Plymouth colony at this period, when a great change in the government was about commencing, which had become necessary from the increase of population, and the remoteness of some of the settlements from the seat of government ;—the local and ecclesiastical history of the several towns, and the history of their commencement and progress is indispensable.

PLYMOUTH.

For twelve years after the commencement of the settlement of Plymouth, that town constituted the whole colony, and in their various departments, exercised all those functions of government which are now performed in towns, counties, and commonwealths :—but local, municipal, and political regulations were esteemed of little consequence when compared with ecclesiastical rule. The doctrines and discipline of the church were far more important in the eyes of the pilgrims than their civil privileges, their political rights as secured

by a free constitution, and their code of laws. The good of the church was with them the supreme law of the land, but being a trading community they yielded a reluctant toleration to such as were so unfortunate or so unwise as to keep without its pale, hence some civil regulations became necessary to restrain the ungodly, but the censures of the church were held to be sufficient for the restraint of its members, although they could not be excepted from the provisions and penalties of a general law.

The Plymouth church was formed from the minority of the Leyden church and the two churches were like a family separated for a time, but expecting a reunion.

The state of the colony in March, 1621, has been already related:—at that time, of the original company consisting of one hundred and one but fiftyfive were left alive, and before the arrival of the second vessel the Fortune, in November, 1621, four more had died, leaving the number of survivors 51. The Fortune brought over thirtyfive passengers who have been named. In July, 1623, arrived the Anne, and the James.

In 1623 the lands were assigned in severalty, to be cultivated by families as has been related. In the old colony records, the situation of the lands, and the number of acres to each is particularly mentioned, viz.

‘ The fall’s of their grounds which came first over in the Mayflower, according as their lots were cast, 1623.

The number of acres to each one.		The number of acres to each one.	
Robert Cushman,*	1	Isaac Allerton,	7
Mr William Brewster,	6	John Billington,	3

* Mr Cushman embarked in the Mayflower ; but after she put back, he remained, but it seems he is considered as having been one of the company in the Mayflower.

William Bradford,	3	Peter Brown,	1
Richard Gardiner,	1	Samuel Fuller,	2
Francis Cooke,	2	Joseph Rogers,*	2
George Soule,	1		

These lye on the south side of the brook, to the baywards.

These contain twentynine acres.

John Howland,	4	Edward Leister,	1
Stephen Hopkins,	6	Gilbert Winslow,	1
Edward Doten,	1	Samuel Fuller, jr.	3

These lye on the south side of the brook, to the woodward, opposite to the former.

These contain sixteen acres, besides Hobbomock's ground, which lieth between Jo. Howland's and Hopkins'.

William White, 5

This five acres lyeth behind the fort to the little pond.

Edward Winslow, }	4	Marie Hilton,† (probably Chilton,)	
Richard Warren,	2	Capt. Miles Standish,	2
John Goodman,		Francis Eaton,	4
John Crackston,		Henry Samson,	1
John Alden,		Humility Cooper,	1

These lye on the north side of the town next adjoining their gardens who came in the Fortune.

The fall's of their grounds who came in the Fortune according as their lots were cast, (1623).

William Hilton,‡	1	John Adams,	1
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* Supposed by Judge Davis to have been a son of Thomas Rogers, who died the first winter.

† Supposed to have been the daughter of James Chilton, married John Winslow.

‡ In Purchas' Pilgrims, part iv. 1640, (says Judge Davis,) we find the following letter from William Hilton to a kinsman in England.

‘ Loving Cousin,—At our arrival at New Plymouth, in New England, wee

John Winslow,	1	William Tench,	1
William Coner,	1	John Cannon,	1

These lie to the sea, eastward.

The following lye beyond the second brook

Hugh Stacy,	1	Austin Nicolas,	1
William Beale, } Thomas Cushman, }	2	Widow Foord,	4

Fourteen acres.

William Wright, } William Pitt, }	2	Clement Briggs,	1
Robert Hicckes,	1	James Stewart,	1
Thomas Prence,	1	William Palmer,	2
Stephen Dean,	1	Jonathan Brewster,	1
Moses Simonson (Simmons,) } Philip De La Noye (Delano,) }	2	Bennet Morgan,	1
Edward Bomfasse,	1	Thomas Flavell and his Son,	2
		Thomas Morton,	1
		William Bassett,	2

Nineteen acres.

These lye beyond the first brook to the westward.

found our friends and planters in good health, though they were left sick and weak, with very small means; the Indians round about us are peaceable and friendly; the country very pleasant and temperate, yielding naturally of itself great store of fruits, as vines of divers sorts, in great abundance. There is, likewise, walnuts, chestnuts, smallnuts, and plums, with much variety of flowers, roots and herbs, no less pleasant than wholesome and profitable. No place hath more gooseberries and strawberries, nor better; timber, of all sorts you have in England, doth cover the land, that affords beasts of divers sorts, and great flocks of turkies, quails, pigeons and partridges; many great lakes, abounding with fish, fowl, beaver and otters. The sea affords us great plenty of all excellent sorts of sea-fish, as the rivers and isles doth variety of wild-fowl of most useful sorts. Mines we find to our thinking, but neither the goodnes nor quality we know. Better grain cannot be than the Indian corn, if we will plant it upon as a good ground as a man need desire. We are all freeholders; the rent day doth not trouble us, and all those good blessings we have, of which and what we list for taking.

Our company are, for the most part, very religious, honest people; the wor of God sincerely taught us every Sabbath; so that I know not anything a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my wife and children to me, where I wish all the friends I have in England, and so I rest your loving kinsman,

WILLIAM HILTON.

The fall's of their grounds which came over in the ship called the Anne, according as their lots were cast, (1623.

James Rand, 1

These following lie beyond the brook to Shawberry Hill.

Edmund Flood,	1	Francis Cooke,	4
Christopher Conant,	1		
George Morton,	}	Thomas Morton, jr.	1
Experience Mitchell,		8	William Hilton's wife and two chil-
Christian Penn,	1	dren,	3

These butt against the swamp and reed ponds.

Francis Sprague,	3	Goodwife Flavell,	1
Edward Burcher,	2	Manasseh and John Faunce,	2
John Jennings,	5		

These to the sea, eastward.

Alice Bradford,	1	Patience and Fear Brewster, with	
Robert Hickes, his wife and children,	4	Robert Long,	3
Bridget Fuller,	1	William Heard,	1
Ellen Newton,	1	Miles Standish,	1

This goeth in with a corner by the pond.

These following lye on the other side of the town toward Eele river.

Marie Bucket, adjoining to Joseph		Cuthbert Cuthbertson,	9
Rogers,	1	Anthony Anable,	4
Mr Oldham and those joined with		Thomas Tilden,	3
him,	10	Richard Warren,	6
— Bangs,	4		

Robert Radcliffe, beyond the swamp and stony ground, 4

Nicholas Snow,	1	Mr Perres, two servants,	
Anthony Dixe,		Ralph Walen,	

These butt against Hobb's hole.

North side.

Edward Holman, one acre,
 Frances, wife to William Palmer,
 Josiah Pratt, }
 Phineas Pratt, }

1 Stephen Tracy, three acres, 3
 1 Thomas Clarke, one acre, 1
 2 Robert Bartlett, one acre, 1

South side.

At the close of the year 1624, the number of souls in the colony was one hundred and eighty, who were then all dwelling within the town. The planters had some cattle and goats, and much swine and poultry. Thirtytwo dwelling houses had been erected. The town was impaled for half a mile in circumference. A well built fort was on the hill, surmounted by a watch tower. For the last three years the health of the colony had been remarkable, and not one of the first planters had died. A ship of one hundred and eighty tons had been freighted. The general stock employed by the adventurers to Plymouth amounted £7000. At Cape Anne, a plantation had been commenced by people from Dorchester in England which they held of the Plymouth people, and a fishing stage was erected there.

On the 22d of May, 1627, it is believed that every family and person in the town, (and the town was at that time the colony) can be ascertained from a record of the division of the cattle.

THE FAMILIES WERE

Francis Cooke,
 Hester Cooke, his wife,
 John Cooke,
 Jacob Cooke,
 Jane Cooke,
 Hester Cooke,
 Mary Cooke.

Isaac Allerton,
 Fear Allerton, his wife,
 Bartholomew Allerton,
 Mary Allerton,
 Sarah Allerton.

Cuthbert Cuthbertson,
Sarah Cuthbertson,
Samuel Cuthbertson.

John Adams,
Eleanor Adams,
James Adams.

Mary Priest,
Sarah Priest.

John Winslow,
Mary Winslow.

Miles Standish,
Barbara Standish, his wife,
Charles Standish,
Alexander Standish,
John Standish.

William Bassett,
Elizabeth Bassett,
William Bassett, jr.
Elizabeth Bassett, jr.

Edward Winslow,
Susannah Winslow, his wife,
John Winslow,
Edward Winslow,
Resolved White,
Peregrine White.

Francis Sprague,
Anna Sprague,
Mercy Sprague.

John Howland,
Elizabeth Howland, his wife,
John Howland, jr.
Desire Howland.

Stephen Hopkins,
Elizabeth Hopkins, his wife,
Giles Hopkins,
Caleb Hopkins,
Deborah Hopkins.

Nicholas Snow,
Constance Snow.

John Alden,
Priscilla Alden,
Elizabeth Alden,
John Alden.

William Palmer,
Frances Palmer, his wife,
William Palmer, jr.

William Brewster,
Love Brewster,
Wrestling Brewster,
Jonathan Brewster,
Lucretia Brewster,
William Brewster,
Mary Brewster,

John Billington,
Helen Billington,
Francis Billington.

Samuel Fuller,
Bridget Fuller,
Samuel Fuller, jr.

Thomas Prince,
Patience Prince,
Rebecca Prince,
Humilitie Cooper,
Henri Samson.

Peter Browne,
Martha Browne,
Mary Browne.

John Ford,
Martha Ford.

Anthony Anable,
Jane Anable,
Sarah Anable,
Hannah Anable,
Damaris Hopkins.

Richard Warren,
Elizabeth Warren, his wife,
Nathaniel Warren,
Joseph Warren,
Mary Warren,
Ann Warren,
Sarah Warren,
Elizabeth Warren,
Abigail Warren,
John Billington.

George Sowle,
Mary Sowle,
Zacchariah Sowle.

Francis Eaton,
Christian Eaton, his wife,
Samuel Eaton,
Rahell Eaton.

Stephen Tracy,
Triphosa Tracy,
Sarah Tracy,
Rebecca Tracy.

Ralph Wallen,
Joyce Wallen,
Sarah Morton.

William Bradford, the Governor,
Alice Bradford, his wife,
William Bradford, jr.
Mercy Bradford.

Manasses Kempton,
Julian Kempton.

Nathaniel Morton,
John Morton,
Ephraim Morton,
Patience Morton.

John Jenne,
Sarah Jenne, his wife,
Samuel Jenne,
Abigail Jenne,
Sarah Jenne.

Robert Hicks,
Margaret Hicks,
Samuel Hicks,
Ephraim Hicks,
Lydia Hicks,
Phebe Hicks.

Moses Simonson, (Simmons,)
Philip De La Noye, (Delano.)
Experience Mitchell,
John Faunce,
Joshua Pratt,
Phineas Pratt,
Edward Bompassee, (Bumpus,
Bump,)
John Crackstone,
Abraham Peirce,
Thomas Clarke,
Clement Briggs,
Edward Doten, (Dotey.)
Edward Holdman, (Holman.)
Richard More,
John Shaw,
Robert Bartlett,
Thomas Prence,
Joseph Rogers,
Thomas Cushman,
William Latham,
Stephen Deane,
Edward Bangs,

It evidently appears that between the last part of the year 1624, and the 22d of May 1627, there had been a decrease of numbers. This may be partially accounted for, from the expulsion of Oldham and Lyford, and their followers, and the removal of Mr Conant and some of his friends, and probably a few had begun to settle in the surrounding wilderness who took no share in the cattle. It is somewhat singular that the name of Carver does not appear in this list. The family of Governor Carver were numerous, and this name is frequent now, and is supposed to be borne by none except by the descendants of the governor. Gilbert Winslow a brother of Governor Winslow is not mentioned.*

* A catalogue is subjoined of the names then extant in the colony, and the numbers which bore them, male and female,

	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.
Adams,	2	1	Fuller,	2	1
Anable,	1	3	Faunce,		1
Allerton,	2	3	Ford,	1	1
Alden,	2	2	Howland,	2	2
Basset,	2	2	Hopkins,	3	3
Brewster,	4	3	Hickes,	3	3
Billington,	3	1	Holdman,	1	
Browne,	1	2	Jenney,	2	3
Bradford,	2	2	Kempton,	1	1
Bompassee,	1		Latham,	1	
Briggs,	1		Mitchell,	1	
Bartlett,	1		Morton,	3	2
Bangs,	1		More,	1	
Cooper,		1	Priest,		2
Cooke,	3	4	Prenee,	2	2
Cuthbertson,	2	1	Pratt,	2	
Crackstone,	1		Palmer,	2	1
Clarke,	1		Standish,	4	1
Cushman,	1		Sowle,	2	1
De La Noye,	1		Simonson,	1	
Deane,	1		Sampson,	1	
Doten,	1		Peirce,	1	
Eaton,	2	2	Shaw,	1	

It has been already related that the emigrants from Holland in the constant expectation of Robinson's arrival, omitted to ordain a pastor or teaching elder. Robinson although in Holland, was in fact the pastor of the Plymouth church and would have administered his office had he arrived, without any new ordination, consecration, or ceremony. His absence was the less regretted inasmuch as Brewster the ruling elder was eminently qualified not only for his own, but for the pastoral office.

After the death of Robinson, (in March, 1625) it was the universal wish of the church that Brewster should succeed him, but he steadily refused an ordination as pastor, but did in fact perform the duties of both offices.

The arrival of Lyford in 1624, and his expulsion from Plymouth, and the miserable termination of his career have already been noticed. He preached occasionally at Plymouth, but was called to no ecclesiastical office.

In 1628 the company in England as has also already been related, sent over one Rogers, intending that he should officiate as pastor, but his utter unfitness, and his eventual insanity, induced the Plymouth church to send him back to England at their own charge.

Sprague,	1	2	Warren,	3	6
Snow,	1	1	Wallen,	1	1
Rogers,	1		White,	2	
Tracy,	1	3	Winslow,	4	2

The names of Allerton, Cuthbertson, Priest, and Wallen are believed to be extinct.

Holdman is changed into Holman, and Simonson into Simmons.

The names of Bompasse, De La Noye, and Doten, are unquestionably of French origin. The persons who originally bore them were probably admitted into the Plymouth company from amongst the French Protestants resident at Leyden.

They have been changed by English pronunciation and usage into Bumpus and Bump, Delano and Doty.

Many of the other names have not been unknown to fame, and have extended far beyond the limits of the colony.

In 1629, Ralph Smith arrived at Naumkeag. He was one of four puritan ministers sent out by the Massachusetts company. Another, (Mr Bright) accompanied Thomas Graves to Charlestown, and became the first pastor of that ancient Church. Higginson and Skelton as pastor and teaching elder, remained at Salem. Smith who was held in slight estimation, finding his services were not required at Salem, retired to Nantasket, where a settlement had been made by Oldham. Finding himself in a wretched situation there, he besought some Plymouth people who casually visited Nantasket, to take him to Plymouth, which they did. Being a man of piety and good intentions, his want of capacity was overlooked, and he was ordained (probably in 1630) the first pastor of the ancient church of Plymouth, and remained there five or six years.

His controversy with Gorton has already been noticed.

In 1635 as he was a person of 'low gifts and parts,' he was induced by his own sense of his incapacity and the persuasions of the people to resign his pastoral office, and after residing some time at Plymouth was invited in 1645 to preach to a new church which had been formed at Manchester in Massachusetts.

The want of qualifications in Smith was less regarded, as Plymouth was peculiarly fortunate for a long period in having some of the most eminent of the puritan preachers as sojourners with them, who taught and labored with as much assiduity, vigilance, and zeal, as though they had been regularly inducted into the higher ecclesiastical offices.

In the summer of 1631, the celebrated Roger Williams who afterwards founded Providence came to Plymouth. He arrived at Boston in the preceding year, and was soon called to the office of teacher by the church at Salem, but becoming discontented in consequence of some differ-

ence of opinion between him and Mr Skelton the pastor, removed to Plymouth.

Of his life in England but little is known, only that he was by birth a Welshman, liberally educated, and had been for a time a pupil of Sir Edward Coke, the illustrious lawyer.

He resided at Plymouth about three years, and his talents were greatly admired. At length he discovered some eccentricity in his opinions and doctrines, and being unsuccessful in converting many to his sentiments, in 1634 he requested the Plymouth church to dismiss him to the church at Salem.

Many who admired his genius were unwilling to lose him, but the calm and sagacious Brewster foreseeing the difficulties and divisions which might grow up in the church if he remained, and having witnessed the course of John Smith at Amsterdam, in becoming at first a rigid separatist, and finally an Anabaptist, he predicted that the opinions of Williams would bring him to the like result, and by his persuasions the church at Plymouth were induced to dismiss him; but so great was the attachment which was cherished for Williams, that many followed him to Salem.*

* The following extract from Governor Winthrop's Journal, describes the mode of conducting public worship while Williams was at Plymouth.

‘On the 25th of October, 1632, Governor Winthrop and Mr Wilson, the pastor of the church at Boston, and the two captains, went by water to Wessagusset, and then set forth on foot through the woods for Plymouth. Governor Bradford and Mr Brewster, and several others, went out of the town to meet them, and they were entertained at Governor Bradford's house. On the Lord's day they partook of the sacrament together, and in the afternoon, Mr Roger Williams, according to the custom, proposes a question, to which the pastor, Mr Smith, speaks briefly; then Mr Williams prophecies, (or explains,) and after the Governor of Plymouth, (who had studied the Hebrew language and antiquities,) speaks to the question; after him the elder (a man of learning;) then two or three more of the congregation; then the elder, (agreeably to Acts

He arrived there just previous to the death of Mr Skelton, and again assisted him in the work of the ministry. Mr Skelton died, and in a short time after, Williams was called by the church at Salem to supply his place.

The government of Massachusetts took the alarm and endeavored to prevent his settlement, but their efforts were vain.

Williams soon began to preach doctrines which at that time were considered 'abominable,' and 'heretical.'

He held that it was unlawful for an unregenerate man to pray, or to take an oath even of fidelity to the government, and that it was unlawful 'for a godly man to have communion either in family prayer or in an oath with such as they judged unregenerate,' refusing to take an oath himself, and advising others to do the same, 'and that it was not lawful to hear the godly ministers of England.'—But he brought forth one truth, which broke through the gloom of the age like a sunbeam,—like the dawn of the morning light, after a night of thick darkness, and which taken in connexion with the circumstances under which it was proclaimed, the times in which he lived, the notions of those with whom he consorted, and even his own fanaticism seems, but little less than the inspiration which in 'olden time,' filled the bosoms of those holy men who were selected to proclaim the eternal truths of the Almighty to those who were hard of heart, and desperate in unbelief. 'He affirmed that the magistrates had nothing to do in matters of the first table, but only the

xiii. 14, 15, &c.) desires Governor Winthrop and Mr Wilson to speak to it, which they do: when this is ended, the deacon, Mr Fuller, puts the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution; whereupon the governor and all the rest go down to the deacon's seat, and put it in the bag, and then return.' This was the practice of Robinson's church at Leyden, and was founded on the practice of the primitive church of Corinth, as described and regulated by the Apostle Paul, but it was afterwards abandoned. After remaining five days at Plymouth, Governor Winthrop and his companions departed for Boston.

second ; and that there should be a general and unlimited toleration *of all religions*, and for any man to be punished for matters of his conscience was *persecution!*

He possessed sufficient influence with his own church to obtain their consent to send letters of admonition to the churches of Boston, Charlestown, and Newtown.

The government of Massachusetts became more alarmed. Cotton, Hooker, and all the most eminent ministers attempted to reason him out of his errors, but opposition made him inexorable. At last, he caused a letter to be delivered to his own church, in which he threatened in absolute terms that if the church of Salem would not separate from the churches not only of 'Old England,' but of 'New England,' he would separate from them. Hitherto he had been sustained by his own church, but they now began to be alarmed, and most of them abandoned him, whereupon he denounced them as anti-christian, and refused any longer to commune with them:—neither would he pray, nor give thanks with his wife and family because they still attended the meetings of the church. He kept a meeting in his own house, where many of his adherents resorted to worship. Their numbers continuing to augment, the magistrates fearful of distractions amongst the people, after attempting with much earnestness to reclaim him, proceeded at length to banish him from the colony 'as a disturber of the peace both in the church and commonwealth.'

The civil authority were the more alarmed as Williams had asserted that 'the king of England had no right to take the lands in America from the Indians and give them to his own subjects,' and had induced Endicot the military commander to cut the cross of St George from the flag of the colony.

Williams submitted quietly to his sentence, and attended by a few followers who adhered to him in every fortune,

went forth into the wilderness and seated himself at Seekonk, and then passed the river into the Indian country, and founded Providence as has been already related.

He verified Brewster's prediction, and from a rigid separatist became an Anabaptist, renouncing the baptism which he had received in his infancy. His adherents changed with him, but he soon became dissatisfied, and told them 'that he was out of the way himself and had misled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could administer baptism, and therefore their last baptism was a nullity as well as their first; and therefore they must lay down all and wait for the coming of the apostles.' In consequence of this new exposition of Williams, his church was dissolved and its members became *seekers*.

It is easy to conceive that one like Williams, with an ardent and sanguine temper, an honest zeal for the truth, an acute and metaphysical mind, and a bold imagination, might pass through these various changes of opinion without justly incurring the imputation of vanity or insincerity. In all his changes he steadily adhered to his principles of toleration, and this alone is enough to redeem his memory with the wise and humane.

His colony became the asylum of the persecuted, and *all* were received with the like humanity, and many had reason to bless the kindness and charity of this illustrious exile. The Indians revered him for his justice and philanthropy.*

. At the commencement of the difficulties with the Pe-

* Although Williams was perfectly disinterested and humane, it would nevertheless seem that he experienced both selfishness and ingratitude from his own followers. The lands of the Providence plantations were bought by Mr Williams himself, and then generously divided amongst his followers without any consideration from them. In 1654, he preferred a remonstrance to the town of Providence, 'in which he expostulates with the people for their disor-

quots, the services of Williams were inestimable. By his personal influence with the Narragansetts he prevented them from joining the Pequots. In the management of this dangerous business he discovered uncommon address, and the most intrepid courage. When the Narragansetts were strongly suspected of being inclined to hostilities, he repaired to their quarters and found them undecided, and the Pequot ambassadors urged them to put him to death, and thus provoke the war, but undismayed by the perils which surrounded him, he persisted at the hazard of his own life in persuading the Narragansetts to the English alliance and finally succeeded.

The junction of the Pequots and Narragansetts would probably have terminated in the destruction of all the English settlements, and the extermination of the English race, and this great service did he perform for Massachusetts and Plymouth, immediately after he had been banished from the jurisdictions of one, and denied a resting place in the other.

ders and great animosities; and upbraids them with their great ingratitude to heaven, and to himself.' 'I am (says he,) like a man in a fog; I know not well how to steer; I fear to run upon rocks at home, after having had many trials abroad; I fear to run quite backwards, and to undo all that I have been this long time undoing myself to do: to wit, to keep up the name of a people, a free people; not enslaved in body or soul, to the bondages and iron yokes of oppression, both of the English and barbarians about us; nor to the divisions and disorders within ourselves. Since I set the first step of any English foot in these wild parts, and have maintained a chargeable and hazardous correspondence with the barbarians, and spent almost five years' time with the State of England to keep off the rage of the English against us, what have I reaped of being the root, of being the stepping stone to so many families and towns about us, but grief, and sorrow, and bitterness? I have been charged with folly, for that freedom and liberty I have always stood for; I say liberty and equality, both in land and government. I have been blamed for parting with Moshasuck, and afterwards Pawtucket, which were mine own as truly as any man's coat upon his back, without reserving to myself one foot of land, or one inch of voice, more than to my servants, or strangers. It hath been told me that I have labored for a licentious and contentious people,—that I have foolishly parted with many advantages, &c.'

His principles of toleration were not of that licentious character which made no distinction between vice and virtue, and tolerated evil as well as good, but were sound, practical, and wise. He explains them in his communication to the town of Providence.

‘Loving friends and neighbors,—It pleaseth God yet to continue this great liberty of our town meetings, for which we ought to be humbly thankful, and to improve these liberties to the praise of the Giver, and to the peace and welfare of the town and colony, without our own private ends. I thought it my duty to present you with this my impartial testimony, and answer to a paper sent you the other day from my brother,* *that it is blood-guiltiness, and against the rule of the gospel, to execute judgment upon transgressors, against the private or public weal.* That ever I should speak, or write a tittle that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake; and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I at present shall only propose this case. There goes many a ship to sea, with many a hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common; and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or an human combination, or society. It hath fallen out sometimes, that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked into one ship; upon which supposal, I do affirm, that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges, that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks, be forced to come to the ship’s prayers or worship; nor, secondly, compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practise any. I further add, that I never denied that, not-

* *Quere.* Does he mean his christian brother or his natural brother? If his natural brother, was it Richard Williams of Taunton.

withstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course; yea, and also to command that justice, peace, and sobriety, be kept and practised, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any seamen refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight; or if any refuse to help in person or purse, towards the common charges, or defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace and preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any shall preach or write, that there ought to be no commanders nor officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters, nor officers, no laws, nor orders, no corrections, nor punishments,—I say, I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts, and merits. This, if seriously and honestly minded, may, if it so please the Father of Lights, let in some light, to such as willingly shut not their eyes.

‘I remain, studious of our common peace and liberty.

‘ROGER WILLIAMS.’

In a government so free as that of Rhode Island, productive of many goodly fruits, it was impossible to avoid some weeds. The licentiousness of faction is ever a concomitant of perfect freedom. Mr Williams did not escape the tongue of slander. ‘However, (says the Author of the Account of Providence,) in imitation of a noble Greek, he thanks God that he had been the author of that very liberty, by which they dared to abuse him; and expostulates with the people in these words,—‘I am told that I am a traitor, and as good as banished by yourselves, that both sides wished I might have never landed here again, that so, the fire of contention might have had no

stop in burning ; I, at last, was forced to say, they might well silence all complaints, if I once began to complain, who was importunately drawn from my employment, and sent so vast a distance from my family, to do your work of a costly and high nature, for so long a time ; and there left to starve, or steal, or beg, or borrow. But blessed be God, who gave me favor to borrow one while, and to work another, and thereby to pay your debts, and to come over with your credit and honor, as your agent ; yet I may say, you seem to have provided a sponge to wipe off all your scores and debts. But gentlemen, blessed be God, who faileth not, and blessed be his name for his wonderful providence, by which alone this town and colony, and the grand cause of truth and freedom of conscience, hath been upheld to this day, &c.” The great principle of toleration, however, still continued to prevail in the government of Rhode Island ; for upon the first appearance of the Quakers in 1656, the other colonies of New England invited this to join in taking measures to prevent the spread of their doctrines. The assembly replied, ‘ we shall strictly adhere to the foundation principle on which this colony was first settled : to wit, that every man who submits peaceably to the civil authority, may peaceably worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without molestation.’ And again, in 1659, in an address to Richard Cromwell, they say, ‘ we being an out-cast people, formerly from our mother nation, in the Bishop’s days, and since from the rest of the New English over zealous colonies ; our frame being much like the present frame and constitution of our dearest mother England ; bearing with the several judgments and consciences, each of other in all the towns of our colony, to which our neighbor colonies do not, which is the only cause of their great offence against us.’

The life of this venerable divine, lawgiver, statesman, and philosopher, was protracted until 1682, having reached an age exceeding 80. He passed through the subsequent Indian war without injury. The Indians revered and loved him. Once in each month he preached to the Narragansetts, whose language he had acquired; they listened with respect out of regard to the man. His doctrines they steadily rejected.

Edward Winslow, while on the business of his agency at London, invited Mr Glover to undertake the office of teaching elder in conjunction with Mr Smith, then pastor, who engaged to come, but died at London, before the ship sailed in which his passage had been engaged. Glover was a man of great eminence among the puritans. Winslow then engaged John Norton, afterwards the celebrated minister of Boston, who arrived in 1635, and preached one season so much to the satisfaction of the people, that they used many entreaties to induce him to remain and Mr Smith voluntarily offered to relinquish his office, but Norton persisted in his refusal, and was soon after settled at Ipswich, and finally at Boston, after the death of Mr Cotton.

Shortly after the dismissal of Mr Smith in 1636, the Rev. John Reyner who had been a settled clergyman in England, and who was the brother of Mrs Southworth, the second wife of Governor Bradford, was ordained as the successor of Mr Smith. He was a person of great humility, worth, and piety, and withal of great ability. In 1638, the celebrated Charles Chauncy, afterwards the minister of Scituate, and president of Harvard College, was strongly urged to undertake the office either of teacher or pastor over the Plymouth church, in conjunction with Mr Reyner. Mr Chauncy preached at Plymouth

three years, but as his sentiments touching baptism were not in conformity to those of the people generally, (his tenets in that particular being similar to those of the Anabaptists of the present day,) he declined a settlement, although the people, enamored with his high qualities (even in that day when little was yielded to the tenderness of conscientious scruples,) were sufficiently liberal and enlightened to consent that he might practise the rite of baptism by immersion to such as desired to be admitted to the church in that mode, provided Mr Reyner should be permitted to baptize in the usual mode. Mr Chauncy succeeded Mr Lothrop as pastor of Scituate.

The further account both of Mr Reyner and Mr Chauncy, belongs to a subsequent part of this history.

Governor Carver, and the surgeon, Samuel Fuller, had been chosen the deacons of this church in Holland; after their deaths, their places were supplied by Richard Masterson and Thomas Blossom, both of whom died about the year 1630. After that the deacons were John Doane, William Paddy, and John Cook. Cook was excommunicated for creating dissensions in the church, and became an Anabaptist. He was succeeded by John Dunham.

During all this period, Brewster remained in his office of ruling elder.

DUXBURY.

The extensive pine forest, the certain evidence of a sandy and barren soil, which even now almost skirts the ancient town of Plymouth on the south and the west prevented any extension of population in that direction, and on the east the ocean was its boundary. So unconquerable is the barrenness of this region, that even now the wild deer makes his lair in the same place where deer

were hunted by our forefathers two centuries ago, and a few wretched Indians inhabit the primeval woods in which their ancestors disdained to dwell.

The settlers of Plymouth, apprehensive of the natives, felt but little inclination to extend their settlements inland, but they found themselves as their numbers increased, within limits too narrow for comfort, they therefore sought to continue the settlements along the ocean. The territory comprised within the limits of Duxbury was contiguous, now was healthy, and, in comparison with that of Plymouth, fertile, and probably as early as 1627 or 1628, settlers went in, amongst whom were some of the principal men of the colony, Captain Standish, William Collier, John Alden, and Jonathan Brewster. William Bassett, Love Brewster, Francis Eaton, Experience Mitchel, Philip De La Noye, Henry Sampson, Stephen Tracy, George Soule, Edmund Chandler, Edward Bompassee, Henry Howland, Moses Simonson, (Simmons,) Francis West, Edmund Freeman, Thomas Bisbee, Edmund Hunt, and Edmund Weston, were early settlers.*

The strong settlements which were formed around the bay of Massachusetts and on its rivers, were additional inducements for the Plymouth people to spread themselves in that direction, and probably in consequence of the settlement of Massachusetts, so many were induced to go there, that they soon found themselves competent in numbers for a church. The inconvenience of attending public worship at a place so distant as Plymouth, induced them to seek a dismissal from that church, and the es-

* To these may be added Richard Church, who probably came from Boston, as his name appears in the list of the freemen of Massachusetts, October 19, 1630. He was the father of the celebrated Indian warrior.

Daniel Pryor another early settler, probably came from Plymouth, although his name is not found amongst those who were at Plymouth, May, 1627.

tablishment of another. With some reluctance their request was granted, and the second church within the colony was established in 1632.

As a pastor was not ordained over this church until 1637, it seems not improbable that elder Brewster might have administered in the same manner as he did over that of Plymouth while destitute of a pastor, and this supposition is corroborated by this circumstance, that both his sons went there, and when he died, some years afterwards, his residence was there.

Ralph Partridge, a clergyman of the established church in England, educated at the University of Cambridge, a distinguished scholar and a man of eminent ability, having been persecuted at home, and, (to use his own words) 'being hunted like a partridge on the mountains,' fled to New England, and in 1637, was settled over the church at Duxbury as pastor.

Although the second church in the colony was established at Duxbury, it was posterior in its incorporation as a town to Scituate. Duxbury was incorporated in 1637, and within its limits were included the present towns of Pembroke and Hanson, the greater part of Marshfield, part of Kingston, and part of Bridgewater.

Amongst the earlier settlers after the incorporation, were Constant Southworth, Samuel Nash, Francis Sprague, William Paybody, Christopher Wadsworth and Joseph Rogers.

In 1638, an annual fair was allowed in this town.

The third church was also gathered here. A settlement nearly contemporaneous with that of Duxbury, was commenced at a place called Green Harbor, still farther north, on the sea. Amongst the early settlers here, was the third governor, Edward Winslow, who built a handsome seat, and acquired an extensive tract of land. His place he called Careswell.

SCITUATE.

Scituate, a corruption from the Indian word Seteuat or Satuit, (in English Cold Brook) received its incorporation in 1636. On the 5th of October in that year, 'it was allowed to be a township provided they have in case of justice, recourse to Plymouth as before.' It was therefore the second town in the old colony which became invested with municipal powers, although no church was gathered here previous to those of Duxbury and that part of Duxbury afterwards called Rexham and now Marshfield.

This town included the territory on the bay north of that part of Duxbury afterwards called Marshfield, and the line of Massachusetts. Settlers were here early. Nathaniel Tilden,* and his sons, Henry Merritt, and Thomas Bird, as early as 1628. In 1633 it was a constablerick.

It has been already related that Mr Hatherly after residing in Plymouth for a time had returned to England. In 1632 he returned and settled at Scituate, of which town he may be considered the father and founder.

In 1633 the court ordered that 'the whole tract of land between the brook at Scituate on the northwest side, and Conahasset be left undisposed of till we know the resolution of Mr James Shirley, Mr John Beauchamp, Mr Richard Andrews,† and Mr Timothy Hatherly, as also that portion of land lately made choice of by Mr Hatherly. They belonged to the company of merchant adventurers.

In 1633 the settlers of Scituate who were freemen of the colony were

* Mr Tilden died in 1641, and left a numerous posterity. He came from Tenterden in Kent, England. He was the son of Joseph Tilden, one of the merchant adventurers.

† Afterwards Lord Mayor of London.

Anthony Annable, who came to Plymouth in the Fortune, in 1621, died 1673.
 Henry Cobb. Elder Cobb died in 1679.
 Isaae Robinson, the son of the Leyden pastor.
 William Gilson, an assistant, died in 1639, without children.
 Humphrey Turner, a deputy to the court, died 1673, leaving a numerous posterity.
 William Hatch, an elder, died in 1672.
 Samuel House.

Besides these there were many who took the oath of fidelity only.

In 1634. James Cudworth, afterwards commander in Philip's war, was admitted a freeman.	In 1636. George Lewis, Benjamin Lombard.
Samuel Fuller, John Cooper, Henry Rowley.	In 1637. Rev. John Lothrop, Henry Bourne, Samuel Hinekley, Mr Thomas Besbidge, John Lewis.
In 1635. Mr Timothy Hatherly, George Kenrick, Edward Foster.	In 1638. Edward Fitzrandle. Richard Gillis.

Those who did not take the freemen's oath were

Henry Ewell, William Crocker, Robert Shelley, Isaae Welles, Robert Linnet, Edward Casely, Mr William Vassall, John Crocker, Joseph Coleman, Nicholas Wade,	George Willard, Thomas Hyland, Thomas Pinchin, Thomas Prior, William Holmes, sen. Thomas Chittenden, William Perry, Joseph Checkett, John Stockbridge.
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Besides Henry Merritt, already mentioned as one of the earliest settlers.

Others who were admitted to take this oath, but the time not exactly ascertained, were

Daniel Standlake, Samuel Jackson, William Willis, George Moore, Robert Studson, (Stetson,)	Hereules Hills, Lt James Torrey, Thomas Weyborne, Joseph Wermall, ——— Beamont,
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Mr Thomas King,	William Barstow,
John Vassall,	John Hollet,
John Turner, sen. and sons,	William Brooks,
James Cushman,	Gilbert Brooks,
Resolved White,	Richard Curtis,
George Russell,	William Curtis,
Stephen Vinall,	Walter Hatch,
Abraham Preble,	William Peakes,
Thomas Lapham,	John Sutton,
Rhodolphus Elmes,	John Hanmore,
Jeremiah Hatch,	Ephraim Kempton,
Henry Mason,	Matthew Gannett,
Isaac Buck,	Peter Colamore,
Walter Briggs,	Michael Peirce,
Humphrey Johnson,	William Randall.

In October, 1637, the land already mentioned as having been reserved for Messrs Hatherly, Andrews, Shirley, and Beauchamp, was granted to them by the court 'extending three miles up into the woods from the high water mark in the brook provided it do not too much prejudice the town of Scituate.'

Three fourths of this tract were afterwards sold, Mr Hatherly reserving his fourth.

'This tract was bounded by Conahasset neck north, the sea east, the brook south, and the commons west.

In January, 1637, a committee of fifteen planters, amongst whom were Mr Hatherly and Mr Lothrop, 'complained to the colony court that they had such a small proportion of lands allotted them that they cannot subsist upon them.' The court granted them 'all the lands between the north and south rivers, provided they make a township there, inhabit upon them, compose their differences with Mr William Vassal, and others, before the next court, and establish and support a ferry at North river, which Mr Vassal was willing to do, that so the removal from Scituate may be without offence.'

This tract as late as 1773, was ceded to Marshfield.

In December, 1638, the lands at Seipican (now Rochester) were granted to Mr Thomas Besbeeck (Bisbee) James Cudworth, William Gilson, Anthony Annable, Henry Cobb, Henry Rowley, Edward Foster, and Robert Linnett, as a committee of Scituate. This grant was not accepted, as the Scituate people had determined to remove to Barnstable.

‘ A further grant two miles by one, up the north river, was made in 1640. To this the Indian title was extinguished in 1652 by the payment of £14 to Josiah Wampatuck, the sachem of Mattakeeset; but the court who had then forbidden the purchase of lands by individuals from the Indians, say ‘ Forasmuch as they have bought nothing but what was formerly granted, the court have remitted what might be a breach of order therein.’

In 1638, the population was freemen 22, townsmen 19—41.

Many of the early settlers came from the county of Kent, in England.

Anthony Annable, Henry Cobb, George Kenrick, George Lewis and others, were dismissed November 23d, 1634, from the church at Plymouth, and on the 18th of January, 1635, a church was established at Scituate which was the fourth in the colony, and on that day the Rev. John Lathrop was installed as pastor, and remained until 1639, when he and most of the church removed to Barnstable.

A Mr Saxton, and Adam Blackman, (afterwards settled at Guilford, Connecticut,) occasionally preached to the people who remained, until the settlement of Dr Chauncy.

In 1639 and 1640, the great emigration from Scituate to Barnstable took place.

TAUNTON.

Edward Winslow, and Stephen Hopkins, were the first Englishmen who in journeying to visit Massasoiet, (July, 1621) traversed the soil of this ancient town :—they found it depopulated and desolate; the ravages of the great plague in 1612 were everywhere discernible :—two Indians disputed their passage over the river, but it does not appear that they were inhabitants. At Tetiquet and Namasket there were Indian villages; the territory of Taunton proper, (namely, what is now included within the present town of Taunton, and the towns of Berkley, and Raynham,) was claimed by the sachem of Tetiquet. Within this territory there were no Indian settlements except in a small part of Raynham, but the whole country which was traversed by the river had been thickly populated, for Winslow and Hopkins found that the land had been cleared on both sides of the river for some distance, and they discovered many unburied remains of those who had died (probably in the great sickness,) and some ruined wigwams, and they were informed by the Namaskets, that upon the river, ‘ were and had been many towns.’

There is a traditional account that settlers were here as early as 1626, but they must have been like Blackstone at Boston, Walford at Mishawum (Charlestown) and Maverick at Noddle’s Island, insulated and solitary men who sought the wild independence of the forest, held by occupancy, and suffered not their native independence to be ‘ curtailed of its fair proportions,’ by the usages and restraints of society. At the head of the list of purchasers stands the name of Henry Uxley, without the respectable prefix of Mr; none now can tell who he was, whence he came, or whither he went. His name is extinct, not a vestige remains, not a memorial exists to tell us what kind

of a man he was, or at what period he sought the Indian Cohannet. His house and lot were sold to Richard Williams, and about him much is known, for he may in some measure be considered as the father, although not the founder of Taunton. He certainly was in Taunton before the purchase by Miss Pool. Tradition says he was accompanied by a brother, and it also says that he came from Scituate. None of the name appear on the catalogue of the first purchasers.

He might have come immediately from Scituate, but there is a strong probability that he was one of those who accompanied Endicot to Salem, for his wife Frances Dighton was the sister of Endicot's first wife. He might have gone from Salem to Scituate, and from there to Taunton. Williams was a Welshman, and it is not improbable that he was a relation of Roger Williams. A tradition has always existed amongst his descendants, that he was related by blood to Oliver Cromwell, the original name of whose family it is well known was Williams, (which name was changed for an estate) and one of Cromwell's ancestors bore the name of Richard Williams.*

The local situation of Taunton being so far inland, prevented for some time any great accession of numbers; none but men fearless of danger had as yet sought this wilderness. All the settlements in the colony were con-

* This venerable man was born as early as 1599. He was a deputy from Taunton to the General Court at Plymouth in 1646, 1648, 1650, 1651, and several subsequent years.

His name appears at the head of the list both of those who made the South purchase, (Dighton,) and of those who made the north purchase, viz. Norton, Easton, Mansfield, and a part of Attleborough. He outlived the Plymouth government, having died in 1692. He was a rigid puritan. When blind and deaf, from age, he was accustomed to attend public worship, saying, 'that although he could neither see nor hear, yet it was consoling to his feelings to know that he was present while the people of God were at their worship.'

fined to the sea-side, and in Massachusetts, no settlement had been made excepting round the bay, and on Charles river; the fear of the natives who inhabited the whole of the interior, confined the English to the sea-shore. At this time, Elizabeth Pool, a lady of family and fortune, from Taunton in Somersetshire, Eng'and, who had at first settled at Dorchester, conceived the bold design of occupying the territory of Cohannet. This spot was at the distance of twenty-six miles from Plymouth, the nearest settlement. The lands now embraced in the extensive towns of Middleborough and the ancient town of Bridgewater, were unoccupied by any excepting natives, and between Cohannet and Plymouth, were the Namaskets and Tetiquets governed by their own sachems. On the south no English settlement intervened, and the great sachem Massasoiet had his residence at the distance of little more than twenty miles. On the west the infant settlement of Roger Williams could offer no protection against the encroachments of the powerful Narragansetts, and on the north between Cohannet and Dorchester, were the Punkapogues and Neponsits:—yet, of what is not the female mind capable when stimulated by religion, love, or revenge! It was the ardent love of religion, an enthusiastic desire of planting another church in the American wilderness which impelled this pious puritan lady to encounter all the dangers, and all the hardships of forming a settlement in the midst of the Indians.

Under such appalling circumstances, surrounded on all sides by savages, and liable to be cut off by their hostility from all connexion with the stronger English settlements was this insulated settlement commenced, '*dux fœmina facti.*'

Elizabeth Pool died in 1654, and the veneration of a

kinsman placed over her grave a stone with an inscription * which happily commemorates her virtues.

The first and ancient purchasers stand in the following order.

Henry Uxley,	3	William Phillips,	8
Richard Williams,	12	William Hailstone,	8
Joseph Wilson,	8	William Parker,	12
Benjamin Wilson,	8	John Parker,	8
William Coy,	8	John Richmond,	6
George Hall,	12	William Holloway,	12
David Corwithy,	12	The widow Randall,	6
Mr William Pool,	12	Francis Doty,	12
George Macy,	8	William Dunn,	8
William Harvey,	8	William Scadding,	12
Hezekiah Hoar,	8	John Bryant,	6
Walter Dean,	12	Anthony Slocum,	8
John Dean,	12	John Gengille,	8
John Stroncz,	12	Francis Street,	8
Henry Andrews,	12	Hugh Rossiter,	8
Thomas Cooke,	6	John Gilbert,	12
John Smith,	12	Thomas Gilbert,	12
Mr Thomas Farwell,	12	Robert Hobell,	6
Edward Case,	8	Richard Burt,	8
John Kingsley,	12	John Crossman,	6
Richard Paull,	6	John Luther,	6
Richard Smith,	12	John Drake,	12
Mr John Gilbert,	12	Mr John Brown,	

* " Here rest the remains
of Miss ELIZABETH POOL,
a native of Old England,
of good Family, Friends, and Prospects,
All which she left, in the Prime of her Life,
to enjoy the Religion of her Conscience
in this distant Wilderness ;
A great Proprietor in the Township
of Taunton ;
A chief promoter of its Settlement,
and its Incorporation, 1639-40,
about which time she Settled near this spot ;
And, having employed the opportunity
of her Virgin state,

Notwithstanding the deep enthusiasm which was cherished by Elizabeth Pool, religion and justice were in her code of ethics inseparable, and she had not yet admitted the positive lawfulness of 'despoiling the heathen.' She was the first of the English who practically admitted the force of that moral obligation which requires the consent of the owner before property can be taken from his possession, and appropriated to the use of another, and she purchased her lands by giving a fair equivalent before occupation. The settlers of Plymouth did indeed eventually extinguish the Indian title by purchase from the owner and by taking his grant, but this was long after the actual occupation, and they could have found no justification for their original occupation except on the ground that they held by the permission and by the gift of Massasoiet,

in Piety, Liberality,
and Sanctity of Manners,
Died, May 21, A. D. 1654, aged Lxv.
To whose Memory
this Monument is gratefully erected
by her next of kin,
John Borland, Esquire,
A. D. 1771

This Inscription was written by the Hon. Robert Treat Paine, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.

Her brother Captain William Pool was her principal devisee. His son Colonel John Pool removed to Boston, and was subsequently distinguished as a partisan officer in the great Indian war. He succeeded to the possessions of his aunt, and from him they descended eventually to the family of Borland. The wife of Colonel Pool was the daughter of William Brenton, Esq. who resided in Taunton for many years; from him is descended the gallant Sir Jahleel Brenton, now an admiral in the British navy, and the Hon. Brenton Halliburton, now a judge of the supreme court of Nova Scotia.

George Macy Esq. died August 17, 1693, leaving no sons but several daughters. John Strong removed to Northampton shortly after the Indian war.

Edward Case removed and sold his lands to Samuel Wilbore, one of the followers of Mrs Hutchinson, from whom are descended all of that name in Taunton, Raynham, Rhode Island, and Somerset.

or that the lands were vacant; unless they had resorted to that refinement in the law which does not admit any title in the aboriginals.

The first purchase was made in 1637, and confirmed afterwards, this was called the Tetiquet purchase. Tetiquet was the Indian name of the great river of Taunton.

When Philip confirmed the lands which had been granted by his father Ossamequin in 1663, he refers to Capt. William Pool, and Mr John Gilbert, and their associates in 1638; on which occasion 'the meadows upon the great river downwards so far as Storehouse point, so called with all the meadows of Assonet and Broad cove, with a small tract of land bought of Ishben, lying betwixt the marked tree at the pond, and the mouth of Nistequahanock, or Three Mile river are enumerated and included.'*

Although the first purchase of Taunton was made of the Tetiquet Indians, and confirmed by another deed from the descendants of the Tetiquet sachems,† yet it would seem that Ossamequin and Philip both claimed the right of soil in some of the subsequent purchases either as actual owners or as paramount lords.

According to Indian usage, the general title to lands was in the sachems, yet on some occasions they recognised a right in individuals. Ishben probably had placed his

* This is supposed by Mr Samuel Davis, the indefatigable antiquarian of Plymouth, to have been only a grant of the temporary privileges of meadows. Storehouse Point, where a trading house had been early erected by the people of Plymouth, is in Somerset, part of ancient Swansey, and Broad Cove was afterwards included in the south purchase, afterwards part of ancient Dighton. The river called Nistequahanock, he says, was also called Nencstecomeck, and suggests whether Cohannet might not have been an abbreviation of the first word.

† This word is spelled Titticut, Tetiquet, Tittiquht, and there are some other variations.

solitary wigwam on the domain of the ancient Taunton. In a subsequent grant of the ancient Freetown in 1659, a reservation was made to a solitary Indian resident, Tabacaton, of the lands which he then had in 'present use.'

On the 4th of December, 1638, Mr William Pool, Mr John Gilbert, sen., Mr Henry Andrews, John Strong, John Dean, Walter Dean, and Edward Case, were made freemen of the Plymouth colony. On the 3d, Mr Richard Smith took the oath of allegiance and fidelity. He was made a freeman in 1640, and previous to 1640, William Parker, John Smith, Mr Thomas Farwell, Mr David Corwithy, Mr Holloway, Mr Nicholas Street, Thomas Gilbert, Thomas Cooke, John Richmond, Hezekiah Hoar, Richard Paull, Hugh Rossiter, Francis Street, John Gingell, and William Scadding were freemen.

On the 3d of March, 1639, the plantation of Cohannet was incorporated by the name of Taunton.

In the catalogue of the 'ancient purchasers' of Taunton, appears the name of Francis Doaty (Doty and Doughty.) Whether he was there previous to the arrival of Elizabeth Pool is not absolutely certain, although it is highly probable. He was a minister. It is also probable that Henry Uxley, Richard Williams, Joseph Wilson, Benjamin Wilson, William Coy, George Hall, George Macy, and some others were in Taunton previous to that period. Elizabeth Pool, and her brother William Pool, and most of the other ancient purchasers, came immediately from Dorchester; Mr John Brown came from Plymouth.

In a pamphlet entitled 'Plain Dealing or Newes from New England,' written by Thomas Lechford, of Clements Inn, Jan. 17, 1641, and published in London, 1642, the writer, speaking of Taunton, says, 'Cohannet, alias Taun-

ton, is in Plymouth patent. There is a church gathered of late, and some ten or twenty of the church, the rest excluded, master Hooke, pastor, master Street, teacher. Master Hooke received ordination from the hands of one master Bishop, a school-master, and one Parker a husbandman, and then master Hooke joyned in ordaining master Street. One master Doughty, a minister, opposed the gathering of the church there, alleging that according to the covenant of Abraham, all men's children that were of baptised parents, and so Abraham's children, ought to be baptised; and spoke so in publique, or to that effect, which was held a disturbance, and the ministers spake to the magistrate to order him; the magistrate commanded the constable, who dragged master Doughty out of the assembly. He was forced to go away from thence with his wife and children.*

Letchford resided in America four years, from July, 1637, to July, 1641, and in that time he personally visited 'New Taunton' as he styles it, and his information as to facts, (although he was of the English church, and therefore somewhat prejudiced against the Puritans,) may be relied on.

From his account, it is made certain that Mr Hooke and Mr Street were both resident at Taunton at the same time,—one as pastor, the other as teacher, the ministerial office being divided. It is also probable that both Hooke and Street, and William Pool, came with Elizabeth Pool from England. William Pool was her brother, and Mr Street had married her sister.

The ordination took place either during Letchford's residence in the country or shortly before, as he speaks of

* Doughty is supposed to have been at Long Island about 1653.

the transactions which happened there, as of recent occurrence. In 1641, Hooke had left Taunton, and was settled at New Haven, and Street was probably the sole teacher in 1641, for Cohannet, alias Taunton, was then granted to Elizabeth Pool, Nicholas Street, and their associates, (Hooke not being named.) This ordination probably took place in 1637, or early in 1638.

It is not unlikely that Doty might have assisted in religious exercises amongst the few original settlers of Taunton. But William Hooke must be considered the first pastor of this ancient church. Of the regularity of his ordination there can be no doubt, as Wilson of Boston, and Richard Mather of Dorchester, both illustrious men and lights of the church, assisted. Hooke was born about the year 1600.—He married the sister of Edward Whalley, one of the Parliamentary major-generals, and who, by sitting as one of the judges of King Charles I, obtained the unhappy distinction of a regicide.

Mr Hooke left Taunton (probably in 1640,) and removed to New Haven; in 1641, (according to Cotton Mather,) he was ordained to the same office which Street had held at Taunton, the famous John Davenport being the pastor. He succeeded Samuel Eaton, (the brother of Theophilus Eaton, the founder and first governor of New Haven,) who had differed with Davenport touching some points of church discipline; the governor advised this removal of his brother, and he returned to England.*

In 1656, Hooke left New Haven and returned to England. He was for a time minister at Exmouth, Devonshire, and then master of the Savoy. He then was received

* Trumbull in his History of Connecticut, says that Hooke was ordained at New Haven in 1644, which, if true, would give him a longer residence at Taunton.

into the family of the lord-protector, Oliver Cromwell, as domestic chaplain. He was highly esteemed by the protector, who provided for him liberally, and designed to have gathered a separate church from his family and household, of which Hooke was to have been the pastor.*

* In one of the recent volumes of the collections of the Historical Society of Massachusetts, there is a letter from Mr Hooke to John Winthrop, afterwards governor of Connecticut, written after his arrival in England. It is inserted entire.

‘ Honored Sir,—I humbly salute you, together with Mrs Winthrop, and your son and daughters, with the remembrance of my entire respects to you and yours. I received the letter which you sent aboard to me newly after my departure from Boston, it being no less a trouble to me than to yourself, that I was so hurried away that I could not see you once again, and solemnly take my leave of you, to whom I reckon myself very much engaged for your love and care of me and mine. The Lord was pleased to afford us a very comfortable and speedy passage from land to land in the space of five weeks, our sea exercises being no more than ordinary. After our landing we were all held with colds and coughs, and I am scarce free to this day.—We found the Parliament sitting when we came, whose greatest work hath been, to raise the present government to that which is kingly, this of kingly being now voted by the far *major* part, though not the *melior*, as I understand, yet some godly persons joining therein. It is apprehended that settlement is not obtainable in the present way. The churches throughout the land that are congregational, and likewise particular godly persons, are mostly averse to this change, and sundry churches, from several counties, have petitioned to the protector against it. In his first meeting with the parliament, he desired time of consideration; in his second he expressed himself negatively; in his third he did not speak, as it is said, so perspicuously and expressly; in his fourth the parliament delivered their reasons for this change; and now the fifth hasting, it is expected that he should deliver his reasons for refusal, or accept what is tendered. I suppose his spirit inclineth to refusal, as the case is circumstanced; but he is put upon straights through the importunities of such as urge the necessity of this change, knowing also that the parliament may, and perhaps will, disown him in the Spanish wars, and withdraw their help, and also in many other things relinquish or oppose him, and render the present arbitrary sword power odious and tyrannical, and when he shall die, choose a king, whose little finger may be very heavy upon the people of God; whereas now (if he accept of the present offer) he shall have the power of nominating his successor, &c. But on the other side a design is feared, the promoters being not men (for the most part)

After the restoration of Charles II he was silenced, (May 24, 1662,) for non-conformity, and died in London, March

of a desirable gang, many of them not very good well willers, perhaps, to the better party; and the hand of the lawyers is chief in these things, to settle their forms (it is thought) no less than the state of the land. Likewise, former professions and protestations against kingly power are alleged and much insisted upon, as made sometimes by the army, godly men, and not of mean rank, utterly denying any such engagements or protestations. Some fear also lest things should revert to their first principles, in the issue, and our gains by all those bloody wars, lie at last in a narrow compass, etc.

‘The protector is urged utrinque and (I am ready to think) willing enough to betake himself to a private life, if it might be. He is a goodly man, much in prayer and good discourses, delighting in good men, and good ministers, self-denying, and ready to promote any good work for Christ.

‘As touching myself, I am not as yet settled, the protector having engaged me to him not long after my landing, who hitherto hath well provided for me. His desire is, that a church may be gathered in his family, to which purpose I have had speech with him several times; but though the thing be most desirable, yet I foresee great difficulties in sundry respects. I think to proceed as far as I may, by any rule of God, and am altogether unwilling that this notion should fall in his heart. But my own weakness is discouragement enough, were there nothing else.

‘Your letters were delivered, Mr Peter [Hugh Peters] undertaking for two of them. For Sir Kenelme Digby is in France, and when he will return I hear not. Mr Peter is not yet thoroughly recovered out of his late eclipse; but I hear better of his preaching than was formerly spoken of it. He hath been loving to me, and hath (I hope) received benefit by the things which have lately befallen him. The steward of the house and I speak often of you. His name is Mr Maydestone, who (as he saith) sucked the same milk with you. He is a godly wise man, and one to whom I am much bound for his love. The land is as full of wickedness as ever it was, excepting that there is a remnant professing the pure ways of God with more clearness, liberty, and boldness, than heretofore; and here are many good churches in city and country, far and near, and many able ministers.

‘There have been two conspiracies discovered since my arrival—one of the levellers, many of whom were engaged by some great enemy to take away the life of the protector, and scarce three or four of them known one to another, that if any of them should be discovered, they might not discover very many others, but the plot still go on in the hands of other men. One Sundercombe was a chief man in this design, a very stout man, who, with one Cecill, was apprehended, and he condemned to die, who, the night before the time appointed for his execution, poisoned himself. He was a very atheist, not holding the

21, 1677, and was buried on the north side of the new artillery garden.

immortality of the soul. One of the life-guards had his hand also in the conspiracy, and had received a reward to act in it, who, fearing a discovery, to save his life detected Sundercombe, made known the business, and prevented the burning of Whitehall, when the match in the basket full of the most combustible and furious materials was lighted and placed in the midst of the chapel in a seat, etc.—The other conspiracy was discovered the last week. It was carried on by tumultuous, outrageous, discontented men, pretending to fifth monarchy, but discovering in their declaration (which is in print) a bloody spirit, though under a specious shew. Some of them were lately apprehended as they were praying, ready to set forward in a hostile manner, together in a body, having accordingly furnished themselves. In this design one Vernour, not long since dwelling in your Boston, a wine cooper, is a principal actor, who being brought before the Protector, spoke and behaved himself with as great impudence, insolence, pride, and railing, as (I think) you ever heard of. It is thought also that Major General Harrison, Colonel Rich, Carey, Danvers, Colonel Okey, Sir Henry Vane, are engaged in this plot. I suppose some of them are secured, or sent for so to be. We hang here upon ticklish points, and scarce know what to think, only the people of God are still looking up to him. Mr Hopkins and Mr Tenwick have gone to God, within two or three days one of the other, in a time wherein we have very great need of the presence and prayers of such men.

‘ Sir, I would not tire you : I have very great need of the help of your prayers ; I am still also valetudinarius, and should rejoice to do God any acceptable service before my great change cometh. I have spoken again and again to Mr Peter to remember your sister Lake ; what he will do I know not ; I pray remember my respects to her also, and to Mr Blinman. The father of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and all yours, prospering your endeavors to his glory and the good of many. To his graace I heartily commend you, and rest.

‘ Yours very much bound to you,

‘ April 13, 1657.

‘ WILLIAM HOOKE.

For the much honored Mr John Winthrop
at his house in Pequot, in New England.’

An adept in art so consummate as Cromwell, might have easily deceived the simplicity of the Taunton minister. Mr Hooke might in sincerity have believed that this ‘ godly man ’ was anxious for private life ! Although he could not fathom the depths of Oliver’s policy, yet he gives the true reasons, (and they are by no means without force) why he should have assumed the crown. —Never did the fires of ambition burn with more fury in any breast than in that of the Lord Protector. That he had contemplated the possibility of rearing the throne which he had prostrated, and of filling that lofty seat which had

Trumbull speaking both of him and Eaton, says 'they were men of great learning and piety, and possessed of excellent pulpit talents.'

Cotton Mather says he was 'a learned, holy, and humble man.'

He was the author of a treatise entitled 'The Privileges of the Saints on Earth above those in Heaven,' and of another entitled 'The Slaughter of the Witnesses.'

Nicholas Street, the teacher, after the removal of Mr Hooke to New Haven, became the sole pastor of the church, and remained in Taunton, probably to 1658, or 1659.

In 1659, he succeeded Hooke at New Haven, (a coincidence somewhat singular,) and remained there as the coadjutor of Davenport until the removal of the latter to Boston in 1667, where he was called as the successor of Wilson. Street then remained the sole minister of New Haven until his death, April 22, 1674.

He maintained a high standing amongst the ministers of New England, both in the colonies of Plymouth and Connecticut, and is mentioned in terms of respect by several of the early writers on New England affairs.*

been vacated by his prowess in battle, and by the audacity of his policy in council, cannot be questioned. In his familiar discourse with his chaplain while disclaiming all personal views, he disclosed the arguments by anticipation, to which, circumstances might eventually have compelled him to resort in self defence.—In fact, there never was in a human bosom such a conflict between the aspirations of a usurping ambition, and the convictions of sound wisdom. At length that unerring sagacity whether of instinct, or of inspiration, by which he was always directed, saved him from the great mistake of exchanging the actual possession of a power far transcending the constitutional powers of the crown, for the barren emblems of royalty. His name alone was his crown and sceptre.

* None of his posterity remain in Taunton. Samuel Street appears in the Harvard catalogue as a graduate, in 1664, and if he was the son of the minister, he must have been born in Taunton. He was ordained pastor of Walling-

SANDWICH.

In 1637, a settlement was commenced at Sandwich by emigrants from Lynn in Massachusetts, the Indian Saugus. It was not incorporated until 1639. It was granted originally to Mr Edmund Freeman, Henry Feake, Thomas Dexter, and others.

In the order of court by which Sandwich was incorporated, it is described as 'beginning westerly by the dividing line between the town of Plymouth and the said town of Sandwich, and on the east by the line which divides the town last mentioned from the town of Barnstable, which runs northeast to the sea; and southwest into the woods; and is bounded northerly by the sea; southerly, partly by the dividing line between them and Suckanusset, and partly by the Indians' land, according to the known and accustomed boundaries.'

The first minister of Sandwich was William Leveridge. He arrived at Salem from England, October 10, 1633. It was intended that he should officiate at Wiggin's plantation, (Dover, N. H.) then a plantation of lord Say and Sele, but his support being insufficient, he came to Boston, and on the 9th of August, 1635, was admitted a member of that church. He assisted Mr Partridge at Duxbury a short time, and then removed to Sandwich. The precise period of his removal is not known, but he was there in 1640. He had been in the ministry in England. He introduced some novelties in the celebration of the Eucharist, as to which, he had adopted the notions of Dr Chauncy, and was much engaged in instructing the

ford in Connecticut, in 1674, and remained there until January, 1717. Nicholas Street was ordained minister of East Haven in 1754, and died a few years since at an age exceeding a hundred years. The posterity of Mr Street are to be sought in Connecticut, and probably some in Canada.

Indians, who were numerous in the vicinity of Sandwich.* Hitherto the law-making power had been exercised by the whole body of the freemen when assembled in a general court. The extension of the settlements created a necessity for delegating this power, inasmuch as the distance of some from the place of assembly was so great, that a general and constant attendance was not only inconvenient, but often impossible. Induced by these considerations, the whole court at a session in 1638, passed an act in these words. 'Whereas, complaint is made that the freemen are put to many inconveniences, and great expenses, by their continual attendance at the courts; it is therefore enacted by the court, and the authority thereof, for the ease of the several towns of this government, that each town shall make choice of two of their freemen, and the town of Plymouth of four, to be committees or deputies to join with the bench, to enact and make all such laws and ordinances, as shall be judged to be good and wholesome for the whole, provided that the laws they do enact shall be propounded, one court to be considered of till the next, and then to be confirmed if they shall be approved of, except the case require present confirmation; and if any act shall be confirmed by the court and committees, which upon further deliberation shall prove prejudicial to the whole, that the freemen at the next election court, after meeting together, may repeal the same and enact any other useful for the whole, and that every township shall bear their committee's

* The precise time when Mr Leveredge left Sandwich is not ascertained. He resided there some time. In 1657, he was employed by the commissioners of the United Colonies as a missionary. In 1674, he resided at Nantucket, within the jurisdiction of the Province of New York, where he was stationed probably as an Indian missionary.

charges, which is two shillings and sixpence a day, and that such as are not freemen but have taken the oath of fidelity, and are masters of families, and inhabitants of the said town, as they are to bear part in the charges of the committees, are to have a vote in the choice of them, provided they choose them only of the freemen of the said town whereof they are ; but if such committees shall be insufficient or troublesome, that then the bench and the other committees may dismiss them, and the town to choose other freemen in their places.'

By this act, the government which heretofore very nearly approached a pure, was changed to a representative democracy, and the whole community acquiesced in the change without complaint, so clearly were they convinced of its necessity. The popular power was still guarded, and the people, at their will, could resume the power of repealing obnoxious laws and of enacting substitutes, although they did not retain the general power of legislation. Popular opinion seemed to be recognised as the real foundation of all legislative proceedings. A great power however, was given to the assistants and committee or deputies, which was the right of expelling from their body any that should be 'insufficient and troublesome,' two words to which such a latitudinarian construction might have been given, that the law might have been perverted into an engine of arbitrary power, and an instrument to get rid of members who had the industry and sagacity to discover abuses and the boldness to proclaim them. A people very jealous of their liberties would not have consented to such a provision.

At the time of the passage of this law there were only three towns in this little commonwealth, viz. Plymouth, Scituate, and Duxbury. Rexham or Marshfield, was yet a part of Duxbury, and Cohannet or Taunton although

settled and a church either gathered or about to be gathered was unincorporated. After the passage of the law, and before the next meeting of the court, three important settlements were established on Cape Cod, viz. one at Mattacheest, or Cummaquid, called Barnstable, one at Pocasset called Sandwich which has already been mentioned, and one at Mattacheest called Yarmouth.

BARNSTABLE.

A large proportion of the settlers of Scituate became dissatisfied with their situation and desirous of a change; amongst the most zealous of those who were for removing was Mr Lothrop the pastor. At first they designed to remove to Sepeican, (now Rochester) and in 1638, the lands there were granted by the general court to Thomas Besbeeck, (Bisbee) James Cudworth, William Gilson, Anthony Annable, Henry Cobb, Henry Rowley, Edward Foster, and Robert Linnett, a committee of Scituate, 'for the seating of a township for a congregation.' This grant was not accepted, and the Sepeican lands were not settled until after Philip's war.

In 1639, Mr Lothrop, and a majority of his church removed from Scituate and settled Barnstable. Those who went to Barnstable were

Anthony Annable, came to Plymouth in the Fortune, 1621, died in 1673, a freeman 1633.

Henry Cobb, died in 1679, ruling elder, a freeman 1633.

Isaac Robinson, the son of the pastor of the Leyden church, a freeman 1633.

James Cudworth, afterwards general in Philip's war, an assistant, returned to Scituate, a freeman in 1634.

Samuel Fuller, son of the physician of the colony, came with his father 1620, a freeman 1634.

John Cooper, he gave by will one half of his large estate to the church, a freeman 1634.

Henry Rowley, a freeman in 1634.

George Lewis, a freeman in 1636.

Benjamin Lombard, a freeman in 1636.

Rev. John Lothrop, a freeman in 1637.

Henry Bourne, a freeman in 1637.

Samuel Hinckley, a freeman in 1637, father of Thomas Hinckley the last governor.

Edward Fitzrandle, a freeman in 1638.

William Casely, a freeman in 1639.

Robert Linnett, a freeman in 1639.

Mr Thomas Dimmack, a freeman in 1639.

Henry Ewell,	}	these admitted to the oath of fidelity.
William Crocker,		
Robert Shelley,		
Isaac Wells,		
Edward Caseley,		

In 1640, William Parker, and	}	went there from Scituate.
in 1649, John Allen,		

Mr Lothrop the first pastor both of Scituate and Barnstable was according to Neal, 'a man of learning and of a meek and quiet spirit.' Morton says, 'he was a man of an humble and broken heart and spirit. Lively in dispensation of the word of God, studious of peace, furnished with godly contentment, willing to spend and to be spent for the cause and church of Christ.' He remained the pastor of this church until he died, November 8th, 1653.*

* Mr Lothrop is mentioned by Anthony Wood as having been celebrated. He held the living of Egerton in Kent where he resided; but embracing the sentiments of the puritans, he renounced his orders, and, going to London, succeeded Henry Jacob. Jacob fled from the persecution of Archbishop Bancroft and went to Leyden, and Neal says that after a conference with Mr Robinson, he embraced his views, and in 1610 published a treatise at Leyden entitled 'the divine beginning and institution of Christ's true, visible, and material church.' Sometime after he returned to England, and having imparted to the most learned puritans of those times his design of setting up a separate congregation, it was not condemned as unlawful, considering there was no prospect of a national reformation. Mr Jacob having summoned several of his friends together, and obtained their consent to unite in church fellowship for enjoying the ordinances of Christ in the purest manner, they laid the foundation of the first independent or Congregational Church in England after the following manner: having observed a day of solemn fasting and prayer for a blessing upon their undertaking, towards the close of their solemnity, each of them

YARMOUTH.

The people of Lynn in Massachusetts having established a settlement at Sandwich, in 1638 another attempt

made open confession of their faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and then standing up together they joined hands, and solemnly covenanted with each other in the presence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as he had already revealed, *or should further make known to them.* 'Mr Jacob was then chosen pastor by the suffrages of the brotherhood, and others were appointed to the office of deacons with fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands,'—this was in 1616. In 1624, Jacob went to Virginia, and soon after died. Mr Lothrop was chosen to succeed him, and so became the second Independent or Congregational minister in England. He continued the pastor of this little church until April 29, 1632, 'at which time his congregation was discovered by Tomlinson, the bishop's pursuivant, at the house of Mr Humphrey Barnet, a brewer's clerk in Blackfryars, where fortytwo of them were apprehended, and only eighteen escaped; of those that were taken, some were confined in the Clink, others in the new prison and the gate house, where they continued about two years, and were then released upon bail, except Mr Lothrop, for whom no favor could be obtained; he therefore petitioned the king, (Charles I, archbishop Laud having refused every favor,) for liberty to depart the kingdom, which being granted, he went in 1634 to New England with about thirty of his followers.' During his imprisonment his wife died; he obtained liberty from the Bishop to visit her once. Morton says, 'the children after the death of their mother, repaired to the bishop at Lambeth, and made known to him their great distress, and he shewed them compassion, and consented their father should be released from prison.' It is worthy of note that the first Baptist society in England sprung up in Mr Lothrop's. 'One of his people carrying his child to be rebaptised, some of the congregation insisting that it should be baptised, because the other administration was not valid; but when the question was put, it was carried in the negative, and resolved by the majority not to make any declaration at present, whether or not, parish churches were true churches. Upon this some of the more rigid, and others who were dissatisfied about the lawfulness of infant baptism, desired their dismissal, which was granted them.' Mr Jacie, a man of respectability and learning, was chosen the minister of the seceders, and the two churches continued to commune together.

Four sons came with Mr Lothrop from England, two more were born in America. Thomas settled at Barnstable; from him descended the respectable family of this name, in the county of Plymouth. Samuel settled at Norwich in Connecticut; from him descended the numerous families of Lothrop's in Connecticut, New York, Vermont, and in the county of Hampden in Massa-

was made from the same quarter to establish another settlement at Mattakeese, (now Yarmouth.) Foremost in this enterprise was the Rev. Stephen Batchelor, the late pastor of Lynn, who at the advanced age of seventysix, at an inclement season of the year traversed the whole country between Lynn and Mattakeese, (being more than a hundred miles) on foot.

The company with whom Batchelor was associated being extremely poor, and encountering many difficulties, abandoned the undertaking, which was afterwards resumed by others.

Mr Batchelor arrived at Boston, June 5th, 1632, then being seventyone. He was soon established as the pastor of Saugus (since Lynn.) His life in America was one constant scene of turbulence, dispute, and accusation. As early as October, 1632, he was required by the court, 'to forbear exercising his gifts as a pastor or teacher publicly in our patent, unless it be to those he brought with him, for his contempt of authority, and until some scandals be removed,' but the court March 4th, 1633, removed this inhibition.

Governor Winthrop says 'he was convented before the magistrates. The cause was for that, coming out of England with a small body of six or seven persons, and having since received in many more at Saugus, and contention growing between him and the greater part of his church, (who had with the rest received him for their pastor,) he desired dismissal for himself and his first mem-

achusetts, of which last was the late venerable divine, Dr Lothrop of West Springfield, father of the Hon. Samuel Lothrop, now president of the senate. From Joseph, Barnabas, and John, are descended the Lothrop's of Barnstable county, and from Benjamin one of the sons born in England, the family in Essex county is descended, amongst whom was the gallant soldier, who fell in Philip's war.

bers, which being granted, upon supposition that he would leave the town, (as he had given out) he with the said six or seven persons presently renewed their old covenant, intending to raise another church in Saugus, whereat the most and chief of the town being offended, for that it would cross their intentions of calling Mr Peter or some other minister, they complained to the magistrates, who foreseeing the distraction which was like to come by this course, had forbidden him to proceed in any such church way, until the cause were considered by the other ministers, &c. But he refused to desist. Whereupon they sent for him, and after his delay, day after day, the marshal was sent to fetch him. Upon his appearance and submission, and promise to remove out of the town within three months, he was discharged.'

After he left Mattakeese he was at Newbury.

In 1641 he was pastor of the church at Hampton and then at the age of eighty attempted the chastity of a woman, for which he was repentant, and then says Gov. Winthrop, would repent of his repentance. He was excommunicated; after two years the excommunication was removed, but he was forbidden to exercise the office of pastor. In Hampton, until 1644, there was nothing but contentions between Batchelor and Dalton the elder, both having strong parties. This continued until Batchelor was called to Exeter in 1644. His settlement there was prevented by the express interference of the court.

This fiery and quarrelsome old man finished his turbulent life after it had been protracted beyond ninety years.

In the summer of 1639, the permanent settlement of Yarmouth was commenced by another company from Lynn, and it was soon after incorporated as a town. Its northern part had been called by the Indians Mattakees, or Mattakeeset, its northeastern part Hockanom, and it comprised originally the present towns of Yarmouth and Dennis.

According to Mr Savage, (unquestionable authority on such subjects) the Rev. Marmaduke Matthews was the first pastor of Yarmouth. He arrived at Boston in the summer of 1638, and is styled by Governor Winthrop a 'godly minister.' He remained at Yarmouth but a short time, and was gone (probably) in 1642. He preached for a time at Nantasket (Hull) about the year 1650, and was finally settled at Malden. While at Hull, Johnson the author of 'the Wonder Working Providence, &c,' says 'he lost the approbation of some able understanding men, among both magistrates and ministers, by weak and unsafe expressions in his teaching.' This led to a serious investigation on the part of the magistrates, and Messrs Bradstreet, Hathorne, Browne, Johnson, Glover, Lusher, Ather-ton, and Symonds, were appointed to investigate the charges against Matthews. The result was unfavorable to the pastor, but he was nevertheless called to Malden.*

1639. This year is distinguished for the meeting of the first representative legislative assembly in general court.

* He preferred the following petition to the general court.

'To the honored court.—Marmaduke Matthews humbly sheweth, that through mèrey I am in some measure sensible of my great insufficiency to declare the counsel of God unto his people, (as I ought to do) and how (through the darkness and ignorance that is in me) I am very apt to let fall some expressions that are weak and inconvenient; and I do acknowledge, that in several of those expressions referred to the examination of the honored committee, I might (had the Lord seen it so good) have expressed and delivered myself in terms more free from exception; and it is my desire (the Lord strengthening) as much as in me lieth, to avoid all appearances of evil therein for time to come, as in all other respects whatsoever; which, that I may do, I humbly desire your hearty prayers to God for me, and in special, that I may take heed to the ministry committed to me, that I may fulfil it to the praise of God and profit of his people.

'Your humble servant in any service of Christ,

28. 8. 1651.

'MARMADUKE MATTHEWS.

'To my much honored friend, Mr Edward Rawson, at his house in B ston, these present.'

Governor Bradford was again called to the chief magistracy, Governor Prince was elected first assistant. The other assistants were Captain Standish, John Alden, John Brown, William Collier, Timothy Hatherly, John Jenny.

The committees or deputies chosen in the several towns, were as follows.

From Plymouth, William Paddy, Manasseh Kempton, Jr, John Cooke, Jr, John Dunham.

From Duxbury, Jonathan Brewster, Edmund Chandler.

From Scituate, Anthony Annable, Edward Foster.

Taunton or Cohannet, Mr John Gilbert, Henry Andrews.

Sandwich, Richard Bourne, John Vincent.

Yarmouth, Thomas Payne, Philip Tabor.

Barnstable was not represented in this court until December, and then Mr Joseph Hull, and Mr Thomas Dimmack, appeared as deputies.

William Gilson who had been an assistant, died this year at Scituate.*

Massasoiet or Woosamequin, (which last name he had latterly assumed according to the custom of the Indians) and his son Moananam, (Wamsutta, afterwards called Alexander) coming into open court at Plymouth on the 25th of September, desired that the ancient treaty which had been made in 1621 might remain inviolable, to which they promised that they would faithfully adhere. 'And the said Woosamequin or Massasoiet, and Moanam, otherwise called Wamsutta,' did also promise to the court 'that he nor they shall or will needlessly and unjustly raise any quarrels, or do any wrongs to other natives, to provoke them to war against him; and that he or they shall not give, sell, or convey, any of his or their lands, territories,

* Mr Gilson left no children; his wife survived him.

or possessions whatsoever, to any person or persons whomsoever, without the privity and consent of the government of Plymouth aforesaid, other than such as the said government shall send or appoint, on which conditions the said Woosamequin, or Moanam his son, for themselves and their successors did then faithfully promise to observe and keep; and the whole court in the name of the whole government for each town respectively, did then likewise ratify and confirm the aforesaid ancient league and confederacy: and did also further promise to the said Woosamequin, and Moanam his son, and his successors, that they shall and will from time to time defend the said Woosamequin, and Moanam his son, and their successors, when need and occasion shall require against all such as shall unjustly rise up against them to wrong or oppress them unjustly.'

In this treaty, the government of Plymouth seem to have taken a proper precaution to prevent the Indians from selling their lands to individuals; a practice which would have been attended with pernicious consequences, and with endless lawsuits, and although it has been sneeringly said that their precautions only prevented individuals from cheating the Indians so that they might do it themselves under color of law; yet the intrigues and deceptions of individuals would soon have stripped the Indians of all their lands, if the government had not declared all such sales invalid, and if they had not induced the chiefs, father and son, to stipulate that none such should be made.

Massasoiet appears to have been extremely anxious to preserve a firm peace with the English, and his care extended to posterity, first by causing his eldest son to enter into the same engagements which he himself had contracted with the English, and afterwards, when his other unfor-

tunate and celebrated son grew up to manhood, he took care that he also should engage himself to pursue the same policy. This kind-hearted but sagacious chief took every mode which human wisdom could devise to preserve his people from the ruinous consequences of English hostility, not only during his life, but to bind his successors to the same engagements after his death, but the tide of fate rolled on in its accustomed channel, and human nature remained the same: the savage yielded to the social man, and the children of the forest fled as usual from the children of civil society.

1640. Mr Bradford was again elected governor, and Mr Prince first assistant. Captain Standish, Mr Brown, Mr Collier, and Mr Hatherly, were reelected assistants, to which office Edmund Freeman of Sandwich was also chosen for the first time.

The deputies from Plymouth were reelected.

Duxbury elected William Bassett.

Scituate reelected Edward Foster, and elected Humphrey Turner in the place of Mr Annable, who had removed to Barnstable.

Taunton elected Edward Case, and Walter Dean.

Sandwich reelected Mr Bourne, and elected George Allen.

Yarmouth reelected Philip Tabor.

During this year that part of Duxbury at Green Harbor and the territory adjacent on the ocean called Rexham, where a church had already been gathered, was incorporated into a town and called Marshfield. There was however no regular pastor ordained over this church until 1642.

In 1637, lands were granted at Green's Harbor to Edward Winslow and others:—‘to prevent any further scattering from this place, of the town of Plymouth, and

weakening of the same, it was thought best to give out some good farms to special persons, who would promise to live at Plymouth, and likely to be helpful to the church or commonwealth, and so to tye the lands to Plymouth, as farms for the same, and there they might keep their cattle and tillage by some servants, and retain their dwellings here; and so some special lands were granted at a place called Green's Harbor, where no allotments had been made in the former division.' This arrangement was soon found to be impracticable, and Governor Winslow and several others soon established themselves there as permanent settlers. Governor Winslow erected a handsome house and called his place Careswell.

1640. Governor Bradford on the 2d of March having surrendered to the freemen, the patent of the colony, which had been taken in his name, (reserving three tracts, described in the instrument of assignment, for the purchasers or old comers,*) charters to some if not all the

* Judge Davis in his Edition of Morton's Memorial, says the purchasers or old comers are thus described in the assignment of the patent:—'The said William Bradford and those first Instruments, termed and called in sundry orders upon public record the purchasers or old comers, witness two in especial, the one bearing date the third of March, 1639, the other in December the first, 1640, whereby they are distinguished from other the freemen and inhabitants of said corporation.' He then subjoins the names as follows.

William Bradford, the Governor,	Joseph Rogers,
Thomas Prenee,	John Faunce,
William Brewster,	Stephen Deane,
Edward Winslow,	Thomas Cushman,
John Alden,	Robert Hicks,
John Jenney,	Thomas Morton,
Isaac Allerton,	Anthony Annable,
Capt. Miles Standish,	Samuel Fuller,
William Collyare, (Collier,)	Francis Eaton,
John Howland,	Francis Cooke,
Manassch Kempton,	Edward Doten, (Dotoy.)

towns were issued, and the rights of the whole derived through the patent were imparted to the several corporations so far as their limits extended. These limits were now established and defined. Plymouth now a town, included the territory of the present town, and also that which is now embraced by the towns of Plympton—(Wenatuket)—Kingston, (Weteketuket)—Wareham, (Agawam and Weweantic)—Carver, (Wankinquag,) and part of Halifax, (Monponset.)

Scituate was afterwards enlarged, part of the town as it then existed has been annexed to Marshfield.

Duxbury then included part of Pembroke.

Cuthbert Cuthbertson,	Abraham Pearse,
William Bassett,	Stephen Tracy,
Francis Sprague,	Jonathan Brewster,
The heirs of John Crackston,	Edward Bangs.
Edward Bumpus,	Nicholas Snow,
William Palmer,	Stephen Hopkins,
Peter Browne,	Thomas Clarke,
Henry Samson,	Ralph Wallen,
Experience Mitchell,	William Wright,
Philip Delanoy.	Elizabeth Warren, (widow.)
John Winslow,	Moyse Simonson, (Moses Simmons,)
John Shaw,	George Sowle,
Josiah Pratt,	Edward Holdiman,
John Adams,	Mr James Shirley,
John Billington,	Mr Beauchamp,
Phineas Pratt,	Mr Andrews,
Samuel Fuller,	Mr Hatherly,
Clement Briggess,	Mr William Thomas,—in all 58.

The five last names were those of merchants in England, who were united in the trade of the colony. Mr Hatherly and Mr Thomas came over.

• All the names excepting the five last, and that of William Collier will be found in the list relative to the division of cattle. ‘Messrs Collier, Shirley, Beauchamp, Andrews, Hatherly, and Thomas, were friends in England, who united with Governor Bradford and his associates in hiring the trade of the colony for six years. Those engaged in the contract were called purchasers.’

Marshfield was not at this time so extensive as it was afterwards made.

Taunton included the present town, Raynham, and Berkley.

The limits both of Sandwich and Barnstable have been unaltered.

Yarmouth comprised the present town, and Dennis.

All the territory on Cape Cod below the town of Dennis was yet in possession of the natives.

In the present county of Plymouth, the several towns now called Middleborough, Rochester, East, North, and West Bridgewater, Bridgewater, Abington, part of Halifax, part of Pembroke, were covered by no grants. And all the ancient county of Bristol, including the several towns formerly belonging to that county and now in Rhode Island, (excepting the grant to Taunton, as above mentioned) was held by the Indians, and they remained on some of the granted lands, particularly at Agawam, (Wareham,) and Sandwich.

Between 1636 and 1640, but few additional laws were made. In 1638, the court say, 'whereas divers persons unfit for marriage, both in regard of their young years, and also in regard of their weak estate, some practising the inveigling of men's daughters and maids under guardianship contrary to their parents' and guardians' liking, and of maid servants without leave and liberty of their masters. They therefore enacted that if any such 'should make any motion of marriage to any such females without leave and consent of parents, masters, and guardians, they should be punished by a fine not exceeding £5, or corporal punishment at the discretion of the bench, and according to the nature of the offence.'

Servants coming from England and elsewhere, "and engaged to serve a master for some time," were not to be permitted "to be for themselves until they had served out the time, although they should buy it out, except they have been housekeepers or masters of families, or meet or fit so to be."

In 1639, a most extraordinary law was passed for 'preventing idleness and other evils.' The grand jurors in each town were authorised 'to take a special view and notice of all persons, married or single, that have small means to maintain themselves and are supposed to live idly and loosely, and to require an account of them how they live, and finding some delinquent, to order a constable to carry them before a magistrate or the selectmen, 'to deal with them as they saw fit.' The inquisitorial and dictatorial authority given to grand jurors by this law, (if now in force,) would convulse society with perpetual disputes, and would lead to a violent resistance of the law. In 1640, however, by an additional law, it was provided that every complaint should be made on oath.

In 1639, towns were allowed to make such orders 'as should be needful for the maintenance of good neighborhood, and to set penalties on delinquents,' not contrary to public acts, and were empowered to raise taxes.

In 1640, it was provided that the military companies should each be trained six times in the year, and the chief offices were authorised to fine absentees.

In 1639, profane swearing was punished by putting the offender in the stocks three hours, or by imprisonment, 'according to the nature and quality of the person.'

In the same year, the stealing or attempting to steal ships' boats, ammunition, or other things, was made felony and so to be punished.

The laws which the colonists established respecting the Indians (although liable to objections) upon the whole seem

to have been wise, just, and humane, and although it could scarcely have been expected that these heathens should have felt any reverence for the sabbath day, yet their pious neighbors who did it, cannot be blamed for their efforts to prevent its violation:—the good intentions of the pilgrims cannot be doubted, yet the policy of too zealous efforts to enforce the observance of the sabbath on such as were not sensible of its sanctity, may be questioned,—of this hereafter.

In 1639, all trading with the Indians was forbidden other than with such as were servants to the English, (by which gold or silver was to be given or paid,) under a penalty of £24; and in the same year the sale of strong liquors was forbidden to all except such as were sick or faint, and then not without the consent of a magistrate, or in case there was none in the town, the committee or grand jury of the township, under a penalty of £5.

It is certainly a proof of a kindly and just disposition on the part of the colonists towards the Indians, that they should have endeavored thus early to protect them from the arts of such as should endeavor in their traffic to impose upon their simplicity and ignorance, and they endeavored to keep them by every legal precaution from the indulgence of their passion for spirituous liquors, which elsewhere has proved their bane and ruin.

In 1639, a prison was erected at Plymouth.

LITERATURE AND LITERARY MEN.

The early literature of New England has been unjustly depreciated. The notion has been too common that the puritans although pious, sober, and moral, were illiterate and ignorant. It is true their circumstances were unfavorable to the cultivation of learning:—they were

compelled to work on the lands for their daily subsistence, and not only to cultivate, but to reclaim them:—to be watchful, as well as industrious, for they were surrounded on all sides by savages. Before 1638, there was not a printing press in the American colonies:—One was then introduced and one Daye was employed as a printer, who confined his labors however to the printing of the free-man's oath, an almanack, and an edition of the New England Psalms. In 1639, this press passed into the hands of Samuel Green, who was the first permanent printer in America.

At this period, (1639) the College at Cambridge (which has since assumed the respectable, and now venerated name of Harvard, was founded.) This beginning, was made within nine years from the settlement of Massachusetts. The first degrees were conferred in 1642.

The two first presidents of this College were Henry Dunster, and Charles Chauncy, who both resided at Scituate in the colony of Plymouth. Mr Dunster (having embraced the principles of the Anabaptists,) although a man of learning, was dismissed, and Mr Chauncy, to whom the same objection existed, yet being a man of transcendent literary attainments, was appointed his successor. It is believed however, that the peculiar notions of Dr Chauncy on this subject were confined to the mode of admission to the church only, and did not extend to the withholding of the rite of baptism to infants.

Mr Smith the first pastor of Plymouth, is not represented as having made much proficiency in literature, but his deficiencies being discovered, he was rejected both at Salem and Plymouth; but it must be recollected that during his stay at Plymouth the people were constant attendants on the preaching of Roger Williams, John Norton, and Dr Chauncy.

Roger Williams had been educated at the university of Oxford, and was for a time a pupil of the illustrious Coke, and a minister of the established church in England.

John Lothrop, (Lathrop and Laythorp) the first minister both of Scituate and Barnstable, was distinguished for his learning. He too was educated at Oxford, and is mentioned by Anthony Wood. Neal also represents him as a man of great learning. He held the living of Egerton, in Kent, which he abandoned and became the second pastor of the first independent or congregational church in England.

President Chauncy, the second pastor of Scituate, was eminently distinguished in England. He was educated in the school of Westminster, and in the university of Cambridge, and was the intimate friend of archbishop Usher the first scholar in Europe.—From his great knowledge of Hebrew he had been chosen its professor at the English university of Cambridge, and such was his accurate and critical knowledge of the Greek, that after he had relinquished the Hebrew professorship, he was chosen Greek professor at the same University. He was settled in the church at Ware, in England, and fell (like Lothrop) under the persecution of Archbishop Laud. In Latin he expressed himself familiarly, with great fluency, ease, and elegance.

John Norton who also preached at Plymouth, was educated at Cambridge, (England,) and was one of the first scholars of that University. He was afterwards the curate of Starford, (Hertfordshire,) his native place. He was urged to accept a fellowship at the University, which he declined. He left Plymouth and was settled at Ipswich, and afterwards succeeded Cotton at Boston. He wrote (according to Dr Eliot, 'in pure elegant Latin,') an answer

to the questions propounded by Apollonius (at the request of the divines of Zealand,) to the divines of New England touching church government;— Fuller, in his church history, says of this, ‘of all the authors I have perused, none to me was more *informative* than Mr John Norton, one of no less learning than modesty.’ Mr Norton was concerned in the revision of the Cambridge Platform. He wrote the ‘Meritorious Price of Man’s Redemption,’ and also a work of great celebrity, entitled, ‘The Orthodox Evangelist.’ His life of Cotton was republished in England. He also wrote a controversial tract against the Quakers, and a letter in Latin to Mr Drury who had undertaken the pacification of the reformed churches.

Ralph Partridge, the first minister of Duxbury also received a University education in England, and was a minister of the established church there.

Hooke, the minister of Taunton, as a writer, was far above mediocrity. He is spoken of by all his contemporaries as a learned man. His two works were entitled ‘The Privileges of the Saints on Earth,’ and ‘The Slaughter of the Witnesses.’ His letter to Governor Winthrop is written in a style by no means inelegant.

Street, the second minister of Taunton, is always mentioned with respect as a man of learning.

Marmaduke Matthews, the first minister of Yarmouth, had some learning but was weak and eccentric.

Governor Bradford, and Governor Edward Winslow, although not liberally educated, were authors.

Governor Bradford was educated to husbandry, and afterwards (while at Leyden) learned the trade of a silk dyer: yet he well understood the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages, particularly the last. His prose writings are above mediocrity, and the antiquarian will never cease to regret the loss of his precious manuscript history

of the Plymouth colony from its commencement to the year 1646. He attempted poetry, but the muses were woo'd in vain:—his verses are prosaic, rough, and inelegant.

Governor Winslow was one of the best writers in New England, and his book entitled 'Good News from New England,' is still read with satisfaction.

Samuel Fuller was an eminent and skilful physician.

The 'New England's Memorial,' by Secretary Morton, although principally a compilation from Bradford's history, is still a standard work, and has passed through four or five editions.

In the enumeration of the writers and men of learning in the Plymouth colony, the Rev. Samuel Newman the first minister of Rehoboth deserves a place, although he did not come into the colony until after the termination of this period of its history. He arrived in New England in 1638, and after remaining some time at Dorchester, removed to Weymouth, of which place he was an early minister, and from there he removed with many of his society to Seekonk, which place he called Rehoboth. He was educated at the university of Oxford and had been a minister of the established church in England. He was a man of great learning and an indefatigable student. His great work the concordance of the Bible, (the basis of the celebrated Cambridge concordance, printed in England,) was completed at Rehoboth, and so intent was this learned and pious man upon this work, that being destitute of other lights, he wrote in the evenings by the light of pine knots.

William Morell, the Episcopalian clergyman of Gorges' settlement at Wessagusset, (afterwards Weymouth,) as early as 1623, wrote a poem on New England, in classical and elegant Latin.

Mr Cushman's essay or sermon on Divine Love, is a work of uncommon merit. Although Mr Robinson never came to America, yet he deserves mention amongst the writers of the Plymouth colony. He was a man of uncommon argumentative powers, and maintained a controversy on doctrines with great ability against one of the most distinguished and learned professors of the university of Leyden. His farewell sermon is an evidence not only of his ability, but of a liberality far transcending the bigotry of the age and would do no discredit to these times.

Brewster, a man of no pretensions, but a good scholar, was well versed in the ancient languages, and was educated at one of the English Universities.

Governor Prence, although illiterate himself, cherished a deep respect for learning and learned men.

In Massachusetts, Wilson, the grand nephew of Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, and first pastor of the Boston church;—Cotton, the first teacher of the same church;—Higginson, the first teacher at Salem;—Hugh Feters, the second pastor of Salem;—John Eliot, the first teacher of the church at Roxbury;—Hooker, the first pastor of the churches at Cambridge and Hartford in Connecticut, and the founder of Hartford;—Sherman, an early minister at Watertown;—Bulkley, the first minister of Concord;—Allen, an early minister of Charlestown;—Nathaniel Rogers, the first pastor of the church at Ipswich;—Symmes, another pastor of Charlestown;—Nathaniel Ward, author of the *Simple Cobbler of Agawam* and a pastor of the church at Ipswich, had all been educated at the English university at Cambridge. Some of them had been fellows and professors, and nearly all, ministers of the established church.

Richard Mather an early minister of Dorchester, Thomas Cobbet another pastor of the church in Ipswich,

and John Davenport the first minister of New Haven, and afterwards the successor of Norton at Boston, had all been educated at the University of Oxford.

Skelton, the first pastor of the Salem church, had been a clergyman of the established church in Lincolnshire. Mr Weld of Roxbury, and George Phillips the first pastor of the church at Watertown, had also been clergymen of the established church in England.

Thomas Parker the first pastor of the Newbury church, had been educated at Dublin under the care of Archbishop Usher. He spoke Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, as familiarly as English. James Noyes, the first teacher of that church;—John Allen the first minister of Dedham, and William Thompson the minister of Braintree, were all excellent scholars. Ezekiel Rogers the first pastor of the church at Rowley, was a man of considerable learning.

Ezekiel Cheever a schoolmaster in Boston, was a distinguished Latin scholar.

Theophilus Eaton the first governor of New Haven, although a merchant, was a good scholar.

Giles Firmin the ejected minister of Stratford, (in England,) was educated at Cambridge, and was eminent for his learning. In New England, he was known as a consummate physician, but held no ministerial office.

John Fisk also, a physician and a preacher, was educated at Emanuel College, (Cambridge,) and ejected from his living in England.

Edward Norris, who preceded Hugh Peters at Salem, was a political writer of great celebrity.

William Torrey of Weymouth, was a distinguished scholar and an author.

William Pynchon the founder both of Roxbury and Springfield, was a man of extraordinary learning.

To these may be added John Winthrop the governor of Massachusetts, an able lawyer and jurist, and as a writer far above mediocrity. Sir Henry Vane, although a fanatic, was a man of learning, and fond of learning.

John Winthrop, jun. an early governor of Connecticut, was one of the founders of the Royal Society, and one of the first philosophers of the age : — he was the friend and correspondent of Boyle and Bishop Wilkins.

To this catalogue may be added the names of several others.

The period during which these illustrious men flourished, extends from 1620 to 1640. Plymouth had been settled twenty years, Massachusetts eleven, and New Haven and Connecticut two or three. The whole population of these colonies in 1640, probably did not exceed 6 or 8000 souls. Yet, where in an equal promiscuous population, at that period, could have been found so many men, distinguished for literature and of learned educations? It is true that their writings and teachings were generally on subjects of polemic divinity, but amongst them were those who had attended to the sciences, sound mathematicians, astronomers and learned physicians. Their poetry partook of the faults of the age, the faults of Cowley and all that class of poets denominated by Dr Johnson, metaphysical; it was harsh, quaint, full of conceits, allegorical and pedantic; but it must be recollected that this was at a period long before the era of Dryden and Pope, who, first taught their countrymen the art of harmonizing English verse. Dramatic poetry which alone redeems the taste of the English nation at that period, was held in utter abomination by the puritans; and that delightful department which fictitious works in prose have now naturalized in English literature, had not been explored or even dreamed of. The style of historical writing was equal to the home standard.

As classical scholars, our pilgrim fathers have found no rivals amongst us, even in modern times:— they were familiar with the Latin and Greek, and all the clergy wrote those languages with ease and elegance and spoke them fluently, and in the Hebrew they were profound critics.

In controversial divinity, logic, and metaphysics, they were unrivalled, and it is to be lamented that such prodigious intellectual powers were wasted in the discussion of some mystic point in theology, now uninteresting, and always unimportant.

Upon the whole, when we compare our classical acquirements with those of our forefathers, we have no reason to be proud. Few can be found at this day in this great nation, who are the equals of Chauncy, Wilson, Cotton, Hooker, Bulkley, Parker, Lothrop, Norton, or Rogers.

Devoted as these great men were to the cause of learning, there was one benefactor to that cause deserving of more gratitude than either, and he was John Harvard an early minister of Charlestown, who by bequeathing in his will nearly £800 to found a college, established that venerable university which now perpetuates his name.

CONCLUSION.

At this period it seems proper to terminate the first part of the history of Plymouth. It had now been a colony twenty years. The settlers had overcome the first difficulties;— their disputes with the natives had been settled, and the relations of peace permanently established by the renewal of the treaty with Massasoiet and his son;— they had acquired considerable territory without exciting the jealousy of their Indian neighbors, as there was yet enough for both races. Eight churches had been gathered, and

eight towns had been incorporated. The settlement of the interior had been commenced. More fortunate than Massachusetts, they had been undisturbed with sectarian disputes, and wiser, they exercised a liberal toleration, which increased their numbers, while the sterner temper of their neighbors could only be soothed by the banishment of their antagonists. Their fundamental or constitutional laws had been established, and their government defined. Their morals were pure. Their ministers and teachers learned and pious. The climate had been proved to be good by a succession of healthful years. The qualities of the soil were understood, and the peculiarities of the seasons having been ascertained, they knew when to plant, and when to gather. Attachments were formed by long residence, and many were growing to manhood who knew no other country. They were industrious, active, enterprising, and successful. They cultivated their commercial capacities with assiduity, and were acquiring competence if not wealth. To add to their security, the colonies of Massachusetts, Providence, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Haven, surrounding them in all directions, were permanently established, and were increasing in numbers and strength.

THE END OF THE FIRST PART.

NOTICE.

THE author living at some distance from the printer, was frequently obliged to correct the proof sheets of this work very hastily, and some errors have crept into the text, the most important of which are contained in the following list of

ERRATA.

Page 11, 4th line from the bottom, after 'however,' in the parenthesis insert *he*.

“ 19, 3d line from the bottom, *prayer* instead of 'prayers,' followed by a colon.

“ 25, line 12th from bottom, *adventurous* instead of 'adventurers.'

“ (A name). *Briteridge* instead of 'Butteridge,' and in other places.

“ 48, 7th line from top, for 'a' read *at*.

“ 58, 17th, 18th, and 19th lines from top, instead of 'after they had made an ineffectual discharge of their arrows, those of the English who had,' read *which was followed by an ineffectual discharge of arrows : such of the English as had*.

Same page, line 24th, after 'but,' insert *the English*; line 25th dele *they*.

Page 61, line 12th from the bottom, dele *and*.

“ 63, Note at the bottom, instead of 'its,' read *their*.

“ 101, line 4th from the top, instead of 'They,' read *These English*.

“ 223, line 9th from bottom, after 'Williams,' insert *with*.

“ 267, top line, dele 'between him and,' and insert *with*.

“ 271, last line of the text but one, instead of 'jurisdictions,' read *jurisdiction*.

“ 277, lines 9th and 10th, dele 'now was.'

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